Elena Kocaqi

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Preface

This study aims to treat the history of the War of Troy, one of the most important wars in human history. By the number of people fighting in it, as well as its duration, this war had the dimensions of a world war. Parts of the world involved in this war include Southern Europe, Asia Minor, North Africa, and beyond, because the Trojan Dynasty provided aid also and by the mercenaries hired from among the Indian and African soldiers. 'When the Cretans heard about Helen's arrival,' Dictys wrote, 'many men and women from all over the island came together, desiring to see her for whose sake almost the entire world had gone to war.' [1] According to Dares of Phrygia, a war witness (who gives a first hand account of the War of Troy), the death toll exceeded 1.5 million. [2] It is impossible to estimate the exact number of deaths; however, considering that many people from throughout three continents were engaged in it for a period of more than 10 years, this war must have taken a high number of lives.

It was a 30-year long conflict, which started before the abduction of Helen, after the killing of Laomedon, the King of Troy. Thereafter, Priam's preparations for war till Helen's abduction went on for another 10 years; and following Helen's abduction, the Achaeans' preparations for war till the landing of the Achaean fleet on the Trojan shores took another 10 years; and the war itself, according to Dares of Phrygia, lasted for 10 years, 6 months and 12 days. Scientists have been trying to come up with the exact date of the war's end by connecting it with a solar eclipse mentioned by Homer. Some of them set the date on the 6 th of June 1218 B.C., some others in June or April 1198 B.C. Given that the conflict lasted for 30 years, it

must have taken place at the end of the XIII century B.C and beginning of XII century B.C. This is also confirmed by the fact that the metal that is used in the war was that of bronze.

Many ancient authors place Troy in the north-western part of Asia Minor, not far from the Strait of the Dardanelles, which took its name from the Dardanian tribe, wherefrom King Priam of Troy came. Strabo, the Geographer of Antiquity, wrote, 'The topography of Troy, in the proper sense of the term, is best marked by the position of Mount Ida, a lofty mountain, which faces the west and the western sea, but makes a slight bend also towards the north and the northern seaboard.' [3] Data given by Plutarch indicate that Alexander the Great visited Achilles' tomb, of which location was known until the Ottoman epoch. Later on, archaeological excavations carried out by Schliemann revealed the city of Troy, whose civilisation goes back much farther than that of Priam's Troy.

This war was waged among Europe's ancient tribes, which at that time had established their own states organised in Confederations; such were the Achaeans' and Trojans' Confederations. According to the data given by ancient authors, the participants engaged in this war belonged to Europe's autochthonous people, including the Pelasgians, Illyrians and Thracians, that inhabited the Illyrian Peninsula (the Balkans), Asia Minor, and beyond. The Achaean Dynasty was a Phrygian dynasty; thus, Illyria and its people were Pelasgians. The Trojan Dynasty was a Dardanian Dynasty, of Illyrian descent, and its population consisted of the Illyrian and Thracian tribes, including the Dardanians, Phrygians, Mysians, and the Chaones, but also of the Pelasgians, Leleges, and Carians, and others.

The use of the term *Greek* by later historians in referring to the Achaeans, Danaans, and Pelasgians, is not correct from the historical point of view, for at the time of the War of Troy no Greek or Hellene names were used among the Achaeans tribes. As explained in this study, the Achaeans are of Pelasgian descent, and from tribes that are known as the Illyrian tribes, or the Illyrian-Thracians. The term *Greek*

emerges hundreds of years after the War of Troy, and is mentioned by Aristotle to refer to 'the country about Dodona and the Achelous, a river which has often changed its course. Here the Selli dwelt and those who were formerly called Graeci and now Hellenes.' [4] Hence, they [the Greeks] are located in Epirus, that is, the historical territory of Albania, where the *Tosk* dialect was developed – which is the official language used by the Albanian population in state institutions and at school today and therefore this fact raises many questions for the real origin of the ancient and modern Greeks too. The links of Greeks with Albanians people, need to have an answer because facts show that their origin is linked with Albanians that is ignored or not considered at all until now, but fact are so strong that is impossible to ignored them anymore. According to Hesiod, the brother of Graecus is Latinus that gave the name to all Latins. [5] Hence, both Greacus and Latinus came from Epirus' tribes that in ancient times were called *Tosk* , and in present-day Albanian, this Albanian population of Epirus is yet called as *Tosk* and make less than half of Albanian nation.

The original names in the translations from ancient Koine (Old Greek) into Latin have been replaced with Greek names, which are not correct, either. Replacing an earlier original name with a later name, based on subjective motivation, is not fair from the historical and scientific point of view. In their translations, Latin authors have sometimes used the word *Greek* in a parallel manner with the words *Pelasgians* , *Danaans* , and *Achaeans* . A change of the names is also noted in Latin even with reference to gods, when Zeus is called Jupiter. Hence, in Latin, the names are a matter of subjective perception, and not of objective perception. Therefore, in this study, the term *Greek* will only be used for the sake of consistency with the proper citation, but that is not an appropriate designation, for, at the time of the War of Troy and even later, people never called themselves by such name; they were instead called by some other names, such as Achaeans, Danaans, and Pelasgians. The term *Hellene* emerged during the War of Troy, and was used as a proper name for both

women and men, and is mentioned in a place in Achilles' Pelasgian Phthia and is a Pelasgian name too. Historically speaking, though, the term *Greek,* or *Hellene* emerges at a later time, and it is only fair to use the terms *Achaeans* , *Danaans* , or even *Pelasgians* .

Another manipulation made in modern translations concerns the name *Greek* used instead of the original names, that is, the Pelasgians, Danaans, and Achaeans. [6] In the Latin version of *Metamorphoses* , for instance, Ovid speaks of Pelasgians, Achaeans, or Danaans; these names have been deleted in the respective translations, and the name *Greek* only is used instead. Two out of the three translated versions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from Latin into English retain the term *Pelasgian* , namely the texts translated by A.S. Kline [7] and Brookes More. [8] In the translation by Samuel Garth and John Gryden, the term *Pelasgian* , as is found in the original text, is deleted, and is replaced with the only term, *Greek* . [9] A comparison between Brookes More's version and the original in Latin reveals that, in translation, the terms *Achaean* and *Danaan* have been replaced with the term *Greek* , which is not the case with the term *Pelasgian* . [10] This is what has happened especially in modern translations of other ancient works. The translators have perhaps not grasped the significance of the correct use of the names, but still the interpreter has the ethical obligation to faithfully stick to the original version. In both cases, replacement of the terms *Pelasgian* , *Danaan* , and *Achaean* with the term *Greek* is inexcusable, with the result being that the historical truth is knowingly or unknowingly distorted. This regards proper names, as well, except for a few names, which still appear as in the original version, including Paris, Priam, Hector, Menelaus, Ahil or Akil, Aias, and others; the rest of the names have later on been changed, relating them to individuals' attributes. For example, Ilaus, the first to debark at Troy, was called Protesilaus, and this was the case with all the other characters, to which were given names based on their attributes.

Many serious ancient authors, including Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus , as well as others , share the opinion that the War of Troy is an undeniable event. Hence, under ancient mentality, this was a real issue, which is not only to be taken into consideration, but is to be taken seriously, by modern historians. Owing to what they have written and considered to be absolutely true, ancient authors are helping us out with answers regarding antiquity, which we cannot ignore simply based upon today's approach, as ancient knowledge is closer to the truth than where we are today. These ancient authors are referred to as primary sources to help define the tribes that were engaged in this war, as well as the events of the war.

Having served in the war, Dictys of Crete is the main source of reference with regard to the War of Troy, both in the English and Latin versions. Dictys' book has been translated from Phoenician into ancient Koine, from Euphrasius (the meaning of his name is the one that has done it, or expressed it well, hence, based on the work he did), and from Latin by Lucius Septimos. Dictys, a native of Crete from the city of Cnossos and a contemporary of the Atridae, knew the Phoenician language and alphabet, which Cadmus brought to Achaea. [11] In the preface to his book, Dictys wrote, 'As to what happened earlier at Troy, I have tried to make my report as accurate as possible, Ulysses being my source. The account that follows, based as it is on my own observations, will meet, I hope, the highest critical standards.' [12] Dictys was not known in ancient times, for it is thought that the little box that contained his books was discovered in the 2 nd or 4 th century A.C. There were doubts as to whether this book existed first in Greek Koine, but this suspicion was removed when parts of it were found in the Koine technical language in an Egyptian papyrus. In *Tebtunis Papyrus* , 'Literary fragments, as usual, are scarce, and the only one of importance being that of the lost Greek original of Dictys Cretensis.' [13] This is 'a substantial fragment of what is clearly no less than the long lost Greek original.' [14] Based on these data the scholars have concluded that Dictys' book consisted of nine volumes, but only six are hitherto

known to us, as the translated version came out shorter than the original.

The second important source, Dares of Phrygia served in the war, too, and gave the Trojan version of the war. With some changes as compared to Dictys' version, Dares' version is shorter. Homer mentions Dares of Phrygia in *The Iliad* . He called him 'a rich man and blameless, a priest of Hephaestus; and he had two sons, Phegeus and Idaeus,' both slain in the war. [15] The translator of the work into Latin wrote, 'This history was written in Dares' own hand [a man who survived the war, and sided with Antenor's group]. I was very delighted to obtain it, and immediately made an exact translation into Latin, neither adding nor omitting anything, nor giving any personal touch. Following the straightforward and simple style of the Greek original, I translated word for word. Thus, my readers can know exactly what happened according to this account and judge for themselves whether Dares the Phrygian, or Homer wrote the more truthfully. […] When the Athenians judged the matter, they found Homer insane for describing gods battling with mortals.' [16]

Historically speaking, *The Iliad* written by Homer is considered to be a source of reference. While he was writing *The Iliad* , Homer must certainly have referred to books of the time, which are now lost, given that he refers to some of the cities that no longer existed in his time, but which had existed in the Bronze Age, and Homer could not have heard of them, if there were no historical sources. When compared to other sources, Homer proves to be accurate from the historical point of view. Thus, what I have selected from Homer is the catalogue of fighters and some events of which Homer provides a detailed description, while completely omitting the religious aspect. Homer does not give a full account of the war. He limits it only addressing a part of it, beginning from Achilles' anger up to Hector's murder.

A number of the dramas and tragedies surrounding the Trojan warfare are included in this study to complete the events of that war. There is no doubt that the authors, who have written

these dramas, were indeed familiar with the historical sources of the time, as some of the events they depict are actually substantiated by other sources; hence, in most of their works the historical basis proves to be correct. The authors consulted for the purpose of the writing this book, include Quintus Smyrnaeus, who has written *The Fall of Troy* , as well as Dictys of Crete and Dares of Phrygia, with reference to the latter part of the war. Other works by ancient authors, including Seneca' *Troades* and *Agamemnon* , Apollodorus' *The Library* , Ovid's *Metamorphoses* , Tryphidorus' *Taking of Troy* , and Statius' *Achileide* , and others, have also been quoted.

In this study, I have dealt with the historical data separately from the mythological data. Mythology actually offers a supernatural way of explaining the history. While historians take the facts to give an explanation for a story, narration of the same story based on myths involves the religious tradition. In this study, however, I have opted not to take miths into consideration, but embark on an effort to derive my works from historical data. We see that, along with their real fathers, famous characters from mythology oftentimes had the supreme god Zeus, or other gods, for a father, which happened for reasons of fame, reputation or authority. This is the case with Achilles, Aeneas, Odysseus, and Helen, and even later, with Alexander the Great, who, thinking that he was not the son of Philip II, but he claimed to be the son of Zeus, and woe to him if any challenged such claim! That does not mean that Alexander the Great is a mythical figure. Certainly not! He is an historical figure, holding a religious belief widely embraced in antiquity. This is what some scholars do not get to appreciate today, so as to make sure that they separate religion from the writing of history. And if we now confuse historical events with religious beliefs, we will absolutely be doing the same thing that some authors did in antiquity. Hence, religion and faith must be addressed separately from the historical events of the time. Most importantly, in the writing of history the historians of classical antiquity have not taken myths into consideration, and this is of great help to modern authors,

because this separation of myths from history has already been made by the primary sources.

As well as providing a description and analysis of the historical events, as is generally the case with all the historical writings, this study intendeds to prove also several theses, including the one that, the Trojans and Achaeans were of Pelasgian and Illyrian origin. Also the cause of the War of Troy can be found in Helen's abduction, as well as in the events when Hercules and the Argonauts killed the King of Troy, Laomedon, and a number of his children. The Achaean War was waged to decide who would rule the world of that time, as well as to plunder a very rich country like Troy. It was through internal treachery among the Trojans that a deal with the Achaeans was reached; and a victory was won through treason committed by the Achaeans hand in glove with some of the Trojan leaders, with such betrayal resulting in the inhumane slaughtering of the Trojans at the hands of the Achaeans.

The oldest people in the Illyrian Peninsula, throughout Epirus, are the present-day Albanians as the direct descendants of the oldest Pelasgian population of Europe. The Albanians of Epirus were called otherwise in ancient time as Tosk Pelasgian and now are called as Tosk Albanians. *Tosk* dialect, as already mentioned earlier on, is the official language of present-time Albanian State. This dialect was and is spoken in Epirus, and now is spoken in Greece by the Arvanites, who make up the majority of the current Greek population. The oldest in Europe, the Albanian culture, language, history, and tradition were directly related to these populations before the classical era, from which the ancient and modern Greeks came from. The fact is that there are Arvanites or Albanians that inhabited Greece in all Peloponnese, Attica and islands in 1800. Those orthodox Albanians fought with Ottomans in Greece and they belonged to Byzantine Church and after they were considered Greeks, by obliging them to use the language of church in state and schools. We cannot find and today any military leader that fought against Ottomans that was Greek, almost all

of them were Albanian and some of them belonged to Romanian minority. Where are the Greeks? Why we do not find and one Greek alone in the war of 1821-1829? How is it possible? How the historians have not seen those facts? Why the grandfather of Albanian inhabited Greece in Trojan War, in Classical epoch, in Middle Age time and also in modern time in 1800. Historian must find who the real Greeks are because until now historians have invented them.

Historical facts show that many Trojan tribes emigrated from Albania's present-time territory. The Phrygians, otherwise called Trojans, emigrated from present-time Central Albania. The Trojan Dynasty was called Dardanian, and the Albanians presently inhabiting Kosovo, being from the same stock as the Dardanians of Troy, are equally called Dardanians. Mysia was considered to be a part of Troy, and the Mysian tribe was found in northern Illyria, north of the Dardanian tribe (they were also found in Troy in north of the Dardanian tribe). A part of present-time Albania is called Mysia (*Myse-qea*), and in Byzantium, it was called Mysia. According to ancient authors, the Mysians of Albania emigrated from Troy, but we also see that the Mysians from Illyricum immigrated to Asia Minor, many centuries before the War of Troy and some of them returned again in Illyricum. The Chaons were a tribe found in Troy, and the Chaons inhabited the Ionian coasts of present-time Albania. The Pelasgians were found in Troy, as well as in Epirus, or Southern Albania. Also to return again to our issue the data provided by ancient authors regarding the composition of the population in Troy are also substantiated by ancient classical sources, as well as Byzantine sources, which continue to use the same names for those people, and it is proven that they are related to the present-day Albanians. Many historical, linguistic, cultural, and legal phenomena can only be explained through the Albanian language and tradition. Hence, in this study we will see that the Homeric tradition is the same as the present-day canonical Albanian tradition, with this being the proof that the Albanians are descendants of the tribes that participated in the War of Troy, which is also substantiated by historical sources. Being an

Albanian, and seeing that the same traditions are still in use, I may say that it feels as if time has come to a standstill for the Albanian people as far as traditions are concerned; the Albanians still have the mentality of that time and also the same typical costumes of the War of Troy.

I would like to offer an apology to my children for not being able to spend enough time with them due to my undertaking to write and publish this book. A heartfelt thanks goes to my parents for being of considerable assistance to me. I would also like to express my warmest thanks to all of my readers, who motivate and inspire me to write.

Prof. As. Dr. Elena KOCAQI

Chapter I

THE PELASGIAN AND ILLYRIAN ORIGIN OF THE TROJANS AND ACHAEANS

Data provided by ancient authors give proofs that both sides involved in the War of Troy came from common stock. The participants in it belonged to the same tribes that inhabited the Illyrian Peninsula (Balkans), as well as Troy. The Trojan and Achaean Dynasties were aware of their common origins. In all the dialogues between the Achaeans and the Trojans there has not been one single case where translation was required, and the conversation flowing freely between them, indicates that they spoke the same language, as is also proven by later sources. Data offered by ancient authors give proofs of the Pelasgian origin of the Achaeans, and of the Illyrian origin of their Phrygian Dynasty. The Achaean kings were of Trojan origin, because they came from Phrygian Pelops, and were equally Trojans as the other Trojans. The Phrygians made the largest part of the Trojan population and the dynasty consisted of Dardanians, so the population and the dynasty consisted of tribes that went down in history as Illyrian tribes. Let us look into some historical facts supporting the origins of the Achaeans and the Trojans.

1.1. The Achaeans were Pelasgians; their kings came from tribes that were known as Illyrians

According to Thucydides, Homer never used the term *Hellene* . Instead, he called those, who fought against the Trojans and their allies, Argives, Danaans, and Achaeans. [17] According to ancient sources, the Achaeans or Danaans, as Homer called them, were Pelasgians. During the War of Troy and before it, the Pelasgian tribes inhabited the entire Peloponnese, Attica, Thessaly, and beyond. While Homer considers the Achaeans and Danaans to be a part of the army led by Agamemnon, the other authors call them Pelasgians. The kings of the Achaeans were of Phrygian origin, hence, coming from tribes known as Illyrians, and the people of the areas where they reigned were Pelasgians, with this being an indication that no ethnic differences whatsoever existed among them. The Pelasgians, too, were on the side of the Trojans.

Let us look into some data provided by some ancient authors in their writings, where the Achaean fleet was called Pelasgian and the Achaeans were called Pelasgians.

1 - In many passages from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the Achaeans are considered to be Pelasgians. Speaking about Paris, he wrote, 'Paris was absent. But soon afterwards, he brought into that land a ravished wife, Helen, the cause of a disastrous war, together with a thousand ships, and the entire great Pelasgian nation.' [18] Thus, Ovid shows that all the united Achaeans represented exactly the Pelasgian nation.

2 - Ovid dwells again on this topic when he writes that, before the Council of the Achaeans Ajax rose to speak against Ulysses, 'I am not prompt to speak, nor he to act. I am as good in war and deadly battle as he is in talk. Pelasgians, I do not suppose my deeds must here be mentioned: you have witnessed them, but let Ulysses tell of deeds, which he performed without a witness, and which Night alone is conscious of.' [19]

3 - Calchas explained, 'Rejoice Pelasgian men, for we shall conquer; Troy will fall.' [20]

4 - ‘Now that great terror of the Trojan race, the glory and defence of the Pelasgians, Achilles, first in war, lay on the pyre.’ [21]

5 - This is what Status writes in the *Achilleid* when referring to the Achaean fleet gathered together at Aulis, ‘He, when he beheld the Pelasgian ships sail by, thrice thundered from peak to wave, and gave presage of a night of fury.’ [22] Hence, once again the Achaean ships, gathered together at Aulis to set sail straight to Troy, are called Pelasgian ships.

6 - Again in *Achilleid* Status wrote, ‘I lay down these weapons and restore them to the Pelasgians, and I remain here.’ [23] (In the English translations of the works by both Status and Ovid, we see that the names *Danaan* and *Achaean* have been replaced with the name *Greek* .)

7 - In *Agamemnon* , through the shadow of Thyestes, the brother of Atreas, Seneca says of his country, ‘This is the ancient seat of Pelops’ line; here ‘tis the custom of the Pelasgians to crown their kings; on this throne sit high lords whose proud hands wield the sceptre; here is their council-chamber – here they feast.’ [24]

8 - In Seneca’s *Troades* , Andromache mouths the following words in her dialogue with Ulysses, ‘Unwillingly, Ulysses, will I give to the Danaï cause for joy, but I must give it; confess, O grief, the woes which thou wouldst conceal. Rejoice, ye sons of Atreus, and do thou bear joyful tidings to the Pelasgians, as is thy wont – Hector’s son is dead.’ [25]

9 - To her son Andromache says, ‘This enemy, hidden away by his mother’s guile, this last plague of the Pelasgian name.’ [26]

10 - Ulysses tells Andromache, ‘The grief of a stricken mother moves me, true, and yet the Pelasgian mothers move me more, to whose great sorrow that boy of thine is growing.’ [27]

11 - Andromache says to Ulysses, ‘O thou contriver of fraud, cunning master in crime, by whose warlike prowess none has ever fallen, by whose tricks and by cunning of whose vicious mind even Pelasgians are undone, dost seek to hide behind

seer and blameless gods? This is the deed of thine own heart.' [28]

12 - When they were wrongly thinking that Polyxena would marry Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, Helen says to her, 'Such a match neither Troy herself while still secure, nor Priam, could make for thee. For the greatest ornament of the Pelasgian race, whose realm stretches wide over the plains of Thessaly, seeks thee in holy bonds of lawful wedlock.' [29]

13 - This is what Hecuba wished for the Achaeans in her prayer, 'May such doom befall the whole fleet and the Pelasgians, may such befall their thousand ships, as I shall call down on my own when I set sail.' [30]

Historical data indicate that this region was inhabited by Pelasgian tribes

1 - Hesiod mentions that Pelasgus was the father of Lycaon, the King of Arcadia. [31]

2 - Niobius had by Zeus (and she was the first mortal woman that Zeus had bedded) a boy called Argus, and as Achusilaus says, too, a Pelasgian boy, after which the Peloponnesus inhabitants were called Pelasgians. However, Hesiod says Pelasgus was the son of the earth. [32]

3 - Argos took the kingdom, and called the Peloponnese by his name as Argos. [33]

4 - The historian Ephorus wrote that the Pelasgians had given their name to all, meaning 'all Hellas.' They colonised Crete, and expanded their rule over Epirus, Thessaly. Peloponnesus was called 'Pelasgia.' [34]

5 - They were originally natives of 'Achaean Argos,' and received their name from Pelasgus, the son of Zeus and Niobius. *They migrated from there to Haemonia (later on called Thessaly), where they 'drove out the barbarian inhabitants,' and divided the country into Phthiotis, Achaia, and Pelasgiotis, calling them after the names of their leaders. Then, 'about the sixth generation they were driven out of it by*

the Curetes and Leleges, who are now called Aetolians and Locrians .' [35]

6 - In his book *Description of Greece* , Pausanias mentions that Pelasgus was the first inhabitant of Arcadia (others accompanied him). After he became king of that land, he called it Pelasgia. When Arcas became king, Pelasgia was called 'Arcadia,' and its inhabitants Arcadians instead of Pelasgians. It is said that when Danae arrived with the girls, who actually came from the Pelasgians, he ordered the Pelasgians to change the name Pelasgian and be called Danai instead, but later the Pelasgians will recapture this name again. In *The Supplies* , the Danai are clearly described as Pelasgians. As the legend goes, the daughter of Inachus, king of Pelasgian Argos, gave birth to a son named Epaphus she expected from Pelasgian Zeus, and from Epaphus was born a daughter named Libya and the sons Belus and Agenor. A conflict ensued among the two sons of Belus, Danae and Egypt, because his fifty boys wanted to marry the fifty daughters of Danae. Then Danae returned the girls to Argos, precisely to where they had come from. Aeschylus wrote, 'It was Danaus, our father, counsellor and leader, who, considering our course, decided, as the best of all possible evils, that we flee with all speed over the waves of the sea, and find a haven on Argos' shore. For from there descends our race.' [36]

The historian Herodotus looked into this event free of the myths. To that effect, he brings up the history of the Persians and that of the Phoenicians. 'The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the feud. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red, and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was about that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians then came, as I say, to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day from their coming, their wares being now well-nigh all sold, there came to the sea shore among many other women

the king's daughter, whose name (according to the Persians and Greeks alike) was Io, the daughter of Inachus. They stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.' [37] 'But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force: she had intercourse in Argos with the captain of the ship; then, perceiving herself to be with child, she was ashamed that her parents should know it, and so, lest they should discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord .' [38] Hence, according to Herodotus, based on histories of the time, Io, the daughter of the king of Argos, became pregnant by the Phoenician captain of the ship, and not by Zeus, and went off with him. They went to the land, which was later on called Egypt, and where she stayed and died. Her ancestors came back again to Argos. The very fact that the Pelasgians of Argos welcomed them means that they knew the history, and paid respect to the royal blood. Hence, Danae was a temporary name for Pelasgian and Achaean, or a synonym of them.

The dynasties of the Achaeans were Phrygian

The dynasties of the Achaeans derive from Pelops, who was of Phrygian origin, because Pelops was from Phrygia. He was the son of Tantalus, known as the Phrygian, or the King of Phrygia. He was otherwise called Atis; in Albanian, the word *at* means *father* . His father was called Tmolus, meaning *mountain* ; in Albanian, *mol* , *mal* stands for *mountain* . Tantalus, according to Plato, means ' *the one who has to bear much,* ' or the one who endures too much. In Albanian, ***tan-ta-las*** has the exact meaning: *tan* -all, *ta* -to, *las* -let, hence, *let it all to him* . Diodorus Siculus wrote that Tantalus was driven out of Paphlagonia by Ilus, the son of Tros. [39] Tantalus was the father of Pelops, who was the father of Atrea. Agamemnon

and Menelaus were the sons or grandsons of Atrea by the daughter of the King of Crete, Catreus.

Dictys introduces us to all the descendants of Pelops. According to him, ‘Ajax (Aias), the son of Telamon, who was known for his bravery no less than his hugeness, was the first to arrive, accompanied by Teucer, his brother. Soon afterwards Idomeneus and Meriones came, who were the closest of friends. **Also Nestor came to Argos, accompanied by Antilochus and Thrasymedes, his sons by Anaxibia** . Then Peneleus came with his cousins Clonius and Arcesilaus; and these were followed by two other leaders of the Boeotians, Prothoenor and Leitus. Schdius and Epistrophus came from Phocis; Ascalaphus and Ialmenus from Orchomenus. Then Diores and Meges, the sons of Phyleus, came; then Thoas, the son of Andraemon; Eurypylus, the son of Euaemon, from Ormenion; and then Leonteus.’ [40] ‘Next Achilles arrived, the son of Peleus and Thetis. (Thetis, so they say, was the daughter of Chiron.) Achilles was in the first years of his manhood, a noble youth and handsome. So great was his zeal for war that he was already known as the bravest champion alive. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, his character showed a certain ill-advised forcefulness, a certain savage impatience. He was accompanied by Patroclus, his close friend, and Phoenix, his guardian and teacher. Then there were Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules; and after him, Phidippus and Antiphus, the grandsons of Hercules, wearing beautiful armour. After them came Protesilaus, the son of Iphiclus, with his brother Podarces. And Eumelus of Pherae was there. (Eumelus’ father, Admetus, had once prolonged his life by having his wife die for him.) Podalirius and Machaon came from Tricca; they, being sons of Aesculapius, had been summoned to serve as physicians. Then Philoctetes came, the son of Poeas, carrying the marvellous bow and arrows of Hercules, whom he had formerly served. (As reward for his service, Hercules, when departing to be with the gods, had given these weapons to him.) Then the handsome Nireus came. Menestheus came from Athens; Ajax, the son of Oileus, from Locris; Amphilochus, the son of Amphiaraus, and

Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, from Argos, and with them was Euryalus, the son of Mecisteus; Thersander, the son of Polynices, came from Aetolia; and, last of all, Demophoon and Acamas. These were all the descendants of Pelops. They were followed by a great number of others, coming from various regions, some being retainers of kings, and others rulers themselves. It seems quite useless, however, to give a list of their names.' [41]

Hence, as could be seen, all the chief executives of the Achaeans were the descendants of Pelops of Phrygia, or Illyrians. Pelops of Phrygia had immigrated from Phrygia, or Troy, to Peloponnesus after a conflict with the then king of Troy, Ilius. He defeated King Oenomaus in a horse race, and married his daughter Hippodamnia, by whom he had many children, including the father of Atrea, or the grandfather of Menelaus and Agamemnon. After his victory, Pelops hosted carriage races as a tribute to gods, and funeral games in honour of King Oenomaus. It was this funeral race, held at Olympia that started the custom of the Olympic Games. Pelops became a great king, and called his land Peloponnesus. As could be seen, the Olympic Games were developed by the Phrygians, or the Illyrians.

2. The Trojans are called Phrygians and their dynasty was Dardanian

The Trojans are called Phrygians and Dardanians by all ancient authors. The Trojan dynasty was called Dardanian, and the Achaean Dynasties were called Phrygian, as is already seen earlier on. The question arises: who were the Phrygians, and what were they?

The stories about the Phrygians and the Mysians go back farther than the War of Troy . The ancient authors consider the Phrygians to be the Brygians, who emigrated from the Illyrian Peninsula (the territory of present-time Albania) in the direction of Asia Minor long before the War of Troy.

a- The best geographer of antiquity, Strabo places the Brygians in present-time Central Albania, near the city of Durrës. 'For above Epidamnus and Apollonia, as far as the Ceraunian Mountains, live the Bulliones, the Taulantii, Parthini, and Brygi.' [42]

b- The other geographer, Schymnus of Chios, wrote the same, that all around Epidamnus were found, according to him, 'Brygos Enchelei, who were earlier led by Cadmus.' [43] Here we come across an interesting record, that is, that the Brygians are also called Enchelei, with the Enchelei being one of the most important Illyrian tribes among which Cadmus lived with his wife Harmonia. At the time, a part of the Brygians still lived in Illyria, and were called Brygos Enchelei. Hence, in this case, too, the Phrygians are called Enchelei, being a pure Illyrian tribe, who historically lived and established their state in the territory of present-time Albania.

c- In *The Telegony* , Eugammon wrote that Odysseus 'goes to Thesprotis, where he marries Callidice, queen of the Thesprotians. A war then breaks out between the Thesprotians, led by Odysseus, and the Brygi.' [44]

d- According to Herodotus, 'By what the Macedonians say, these Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbours of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they changed their name also, and were called Phrygians. The Armenians, who were settlers from Phrygia, were armed like the Phrygians. [45] Thus, Herodotus, too, confirms that the Brygians had been neighbours of the Macedonians before the immigration to Troy. As could be seen, the Phrygians are an ancient Albanian tribe, and therefore, the thesis of some linguists, according to which Armenian is older than Albanian, is wrong, because it is a branch of the Albanian language, since the Armenians, like the Brygians, emigrated from today's Albania to Troy, and thenceforth, headed for their historical settlement. Hence, knowledge of the history of the ancient tribes' movements is always of great assistance to linguists to determine the age and origin of the languages.

The Phrygian language was written, and the few certain words, referred to as Phrygian words by ancient authors, are related to present-day Albanian.

a - In the 4 th century B.C., Plato wrote that the Phrygians have the same words (with Hellenic – author's note), slightly changed, such as *udor* (water) and *kunes* (dogs), and many other words. [46] Actually, those words that he named as Hellenic and Phrygians, are also found in the Albanian language today. In present-day Albanian, the word *udor* or *ujor* stands for *water* . In Albanian, the word *dog* or ***kunes*** , written with *k* , and *q* , and *ç* , reads *kones* , *kan* , *qan* , *can* , and *qen* . This is a clear demonstration that the ancient Phrygians spoke a language, which resembles to present-day Albanian. It must be noted that, 2500 years after Plato, and 3200 years after the War of Troy, the language has not changed so much, because a speaker of present-day Albanian would immediately recognise those words.

b - In the 5 th century B.C., Herodotus was witness to an experiment Pharaoh Psammetichus made regarding the Phrygian language. Before their king, Psammetichus, could ascend to the throne, the Egyptians believed to be the most ancient people of mankind. Psammetichus made an effort to find out which was indeed the most ancient race. Finding it impossible to figure out by way of investigation who was the most ancient people, this king applied the following method to help with the discovery. He took two common-born children, and handed them over to a shepherd to keep in a house, not allowing anyone to pronounce a word in their presence. The purpose here was for him to know the first words the children would articulate. And that is what happened. For two full years the shepherd obeyed orders, and one day, at the end of the assigned time, he opened the door to their room. Upon seeing him, the children ran over to him with open arms, and apparently said *becos* . Then, Psammetichus heard them say the word, which prompted him to inquire about the people who used the word *becos* , and then, he learned that *becos* was the Phrygian word for *bread* . Taking this circumstance into

consideration, the Egyptians gave up on their idea, and accepted that the Phrygians were the most ancient people. Hence, with this experiment, the Pharaoh proved that the Phrygian language was older than the Egyptian language of the time, and accordingly, the Phrygians were older than the Egyptians. Today, the Albanians still use the word *bek, buk-ë* for *bread* , as the Phrygians used to. Even *eating food* is oftentimes referred to as eating *buk-ë* or eating *bread.* This is pretty normal as long as the Phrygians emigrated from present-time Albania, and all the historical data indicate that the Albanians have dwelt on their own territory for thousands of years. If we take account of the experiment conducted by the awkward Pharaoh of Egypt, then we have the proof that Albanian is one of the oldest languages in the world.

c - In 1844, Hermann Müller suggested that the Phrygians' name could be linked to the same Indo-European roots as that of the German word *berg* (mountain) and the Slavic word *breg* (hill, slope, mountain). The Albanian, too, has the word *breg* , which means *shore, coast; dune, hill* , and in the plural form such word changes from *breg* to *briget* , *brigjet* .

The Albanian language from today's position has all the power to explain the Phrygian words because in the territory of Albania of today is formed that prehistoric language and culture. No chronicle has any data to show that the Albanian people have emigrated from somewhere, and their ancient Albanian language, culture and traditions definitely show their indisputable continuity on this territory. Hence, the Trojans called Phrygians spoke the ancient Illyrian language, or an ancient Albanian language that can be explained throught Albanian languae of today.

1.3. The Dardanians of Troy and the Dardanians of Illyria [47]

Priam, King of Troy, is called Priam Dardanidi, a descendant of Dardan, who was the founder of this dynasty. The Albanians in present-time Kosovo, who also come from the

Dardanians of Troy, are called Dardanians, too. According to Diodorus Siculus, 'Dardanus, who was a man who entertained great designs and was the first to make his way across to Asia in a make-shift boat, founded at the outset a city called Dardanus, organised the kingdom which lay about the city that was called Troy at a later time, and called the peoples Dardanians after himself. They say also that he ruled over many nations throughout Asia, and that the Dardani (Albanians in present-time Kosovo – author's note), who dwell beyond Thrace, were colonists sent forth by him.' [48]

Who are the Dardanians?

In the stories of Ramesses II on the battle of Kadesh the Dardanians were listed among the Hittites' allies. [49] In 1274 B.C., a peace agreement was signed between King Hattusili of the Hittites and Ramesses II of Egypt. Hence, there is a reliable historical source, according to which the Dardanians are situated in Asia Minor, after which the Dardanelles are named. Troy was called Ilios, and the Hittites' sources make reference to Wilus, which has the same root as Ilios. A documented agreement concluded between the King of the Hittites, Muwattalli, and that of Wilus, Alaksandu, dates back to 1280 B.C.

Diodorus Siculus wrote, 'Samothracians were living under a government of this kind, they say that they were born in that land to Zeus and Electra who was one of the Atlántides, the Dardan, Iasion, and Harmonia.' [50] Hence, a son of Pelasgian Zeus and Electra of Atlántida, who, according to other sources, was the princess of Atlántida, or the only daughter of the king of Atlántida. The princess of Atlántida is the grandmother of the Illyrians. Harmonia is considered to be the queen, and sometimes, the mother of the Illyrians, and she was the sister of Dardanus. Harmonia means joy, and in Albanian, it is related to the word *hare, har,* meaning *joy, happiness* .

'The first to rule as king over the land of Troy was Teucrus. To Teucrus was born a daughter Bateia, whom Dardanus, the son of Zeus, married, and when Dardanus succeeded to the throne he called the people of the land Dardanians after his own

name, and founding a city on the shore of the sea he called it also Dardania after himself. To him a son Erichthonius was born, who far excelled in good fortune and in wealth. Of him the poet Homer writes, “The wealthiest was he of mortal men; three thousand mares he had that grazed throughout his marshy pastures.” To Erichthonius was born a son Tros, who called the people of the land Trojans, after his own name. To Tros were born three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymedes. Ilus founded in a plain a city which was the most renowned among the cities in the Troad, giving it after himself the name Ilium. And to Ilus was born a son Laomedon, who begat Tithonus and Priam; and Tithonus, after making a campaign against those parts of Asia which lay to the east of him and pushing as far as Ethiopia, begat by Eos, as the myths relate, Memnon, who came to the aid of the Trojans and was slain by Achilleus, whereas Priam married Hecabê (Hecuba) and begat, in addition to a number of other sons, Hector, who won very great distinction in the Trojan War . Assaracus became king of the Dardanians and begat Capys, whose son was Anchises, who by Aphroditê begat Aeneas, the most renowned man among the Trojans. And Ganymedes, who excelled all men in beauty, was snatched up by the gods to serve as the cupbearer of Zeus.’ [51]

The Dardanians have gone down in history as one of the most important Illyrian tribes. According to Appian, Polyphemus and his wife, Galatea, had three sons, Celt, Illyrian, and Gal, who emigrated from Sicily, and the nations called Celts, Illyrians and Gals had their origin from them. Among the many myths prevailing among many peoples this seems more credible. Illyrian had six sons, Encheleus, Autarieus, Dardanus, Maedus, Taulas, and Perrhebus, and also the daughters Partho, Daortho, Dasaro and others, from whom came the Taulants, Perrebees, Angels, Autarieus, Dardans, Parthans, Dasarets, and Darsa. Autarieus had a son Panonius, or Paeon, and the latter had boys, Skordisk and Tribal, from whom the nations bearing similar names came from. [52]

In ancient times, the Dardanians of Illyria and those of Troy were called the same. The Dardanians emigrated from the Illyrian Peninsula towards Asia Minor, and he [Dardanus] is the one who sent colonists to Dardania of Illyria, and named them after him. After the War of Troy, with the emigration of Aeneas and Antenor, who survived the war, the Dardanian Dynasty moved west. According to ancient and mediaeval sources, the Romans, the Franks, and even a part of the old Britons of the British era were descended from the Dardanians.

1.4. The Mysians of Troy and the Mysians of Illyria

The Mysians inhabited the north-western part of Asia Minor, and were allies of the Trojans. At the beginning of the war, the Mysians and Tlepolemus, a son of Hercules, remained neutral, because he had married Priam's daughter. However, towards the end of the war, the grandson of Hercules and Priam, the King of the Mysians, Eurypylus, took part in the war, and was slain.

One of the two theories, that have been formulated, is advocated by Herodotus, according to whom the Mysians had arrived in Europe from Asia, and the opposite. In his *Histories* , Herodotus wrote that the Mysians were brothers of the Carians and Lydians, and being so, they and their nations had the right to offer up their praises in the sanctuary dedicated to the Carian Zeus in Mylasa. He also makes mention of the Mysians moving from Asia to Europe at an earlier time than the War of Troy, in which case the Mysians and Teucrians had crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, and after conquering all Thrace, pressed forward till they came to the Ionian Sea, while southward they reached as far as the Peneus River. [53] A fact to be borne in mind is that the largest plain in present-time Albania is also named after them, namely Mysia (in Albanian, Myze-qea). In a number of Byzantine maps, the name of this plain is written as Mysia (Myzia in Albanian), which is also consistent with Herodotus' statement that the Mysians came as far as the Ionian Sea.

Offering a different opinion, Strabo maintained that the Mysi of Illyricum had gone as far as Troy. The Getae lived on either side of the Danube, as did the Mysi, these also being Thracians, and identical with the people, who are now called Moesi; from these Mysi sprang also the Mysi, who now lived between the Lydians, and the Phrygians and Trojans. [54] The same Strabo writes that, 'Getae is a tribe with the same tongue as the Thracians. And they live there in Thrace now, and are called *Moesi* – whether it be that their people of earlier times were so called, and that in Asia the name was changed to *Mysi* , or (what is more apposite to history and the declaration of the poet) that in earlier times their people in Thrace were called *Mysi* .' [55]

In describing the Illyrian tribes, Appian indeed considers the Mysians to be as such. According to him, 'These peoples, and also the Pannonians, the Rhaetians, the Noricans, the Mysians of Europe, and the other neighbouring tribes, who inhabited the right bank of the Danube, the Romans distinguish from one another […], and they call each by its own name, but they consider the whole of Illyria as embraced under a common designation. Whence this idea took its start I have not been able to find out, but it continues to this day, for they farm the tax of all the nations from the source of the Danube (present-time Germany – author's note) to the Euxine Sea (Black Sea – author's note) under one head, and call it the **Illyrian tax** .' [56] So far, we have seen that the Mysi are Thracians, are Germanic Getae, are Trojans, as well as Illyrians. Strabo wrote that the Dacians had the same tongue as the Getans. [57] Some of the people are called Daci, and others are called Getae. [58] This statement by Strabo substantiates that the Thracian, Dacian, and Illyrian tribes spoke the same language. What language was that? More than half of the words of the Dacian language are found in present-day Albanian, and the rest, which is not found in present-day Albanian, concerns mainly toponyms. This shows that ancient Albanian is precisely the language of the Illyricum Peninsula.

According to Dictys, it appears that the Mysi were aware of their bonds of kinship with the Achaeans, who were Phrygians, this being an indicative fact that there were no ethnic differences between the Phrygians and the Mysi. When the descendants of Pelops, with the exception of Agamemnon and Menelaus, came together, and went to Telephus, who was the King of Mysia in Asia Minor, he received them as people of the same blood with them. Finally, after a long conversation, they bitterly accused him of the hostile way he had opposed his own people, pointing out that Agamemnon and Menelaus, who had brought together their army, were descendants of Pelops, and therefore, not unrelated to him. What had happened, the King said, was not his fault, but theirs. He had not known that they, who had come, were closest friends. They should have sent ahead messengers to announce their arrival, and he would have gone and met them. They would have been his guests, and he would have sent them off with gifts, when they thought they must go. As for the expedition against Priam, he refused to take part. He was prevented by the closest bonds of kinship, for his wife Astyoche, the mother of his son Eurypylus, was one of Priam's daughters. [59]

1.5. Trojan-Achaean laws and Albanian customary laws

The Homeric tradition bears resemblance to the Albanian customary tradition today. The ethics and customary law of the War of Troy are now found in the Albanian Customary Canon. Albania is the only one country, the world over, which still continues to uphold the Homeric tradition. Actually, failure to enforce it entails imposition of sanctions, including the taking of someone's life, with such sanctions having challenged each and every empire and state in this country. So, it is precisely the honour, hospitality, and pledge, still applicable among the Albanians today, which used to underlie the ethical-juridical-moral basis of the Trojan-Achaean society. Let us have a look at the institutes of the Homeric Law, and the institutes of the Albanian Customary Law at present.

1- Hospitality

Violation of the laws of guest-friendship is one of the causes of the War of Troy. Paris was accused of having violated sacred guest-friendship, for, during his stay at Menelaus' home, he abducted his wife, and looted his wealth. Hence, the Achaeans met the King of the Mysi, and asked him to aid them, **'especially in view of Alexander's violation of the laws of guest-friendship** .' [60] The Trojans, however, found themselves in a difficult position, too, for, precisely due to the laws of guest-friendship, they could not give up Helen. Unless one is aware of the Albanian Customary Law, it is close to impossible to try to appreciate such extreme decision taken by the Trojans. Under the Albanian Customary Canon, ' **the Albanian's home is of God and of guest'** [61] Virgil wrote, **'Jupiter, since they say you're the one who creates the laws of hospitality.'** [62] Hence, under ancient mentality, these are divine laws, and, among the Albanians, they are to this very day considered to be sacred, and cannot be violated. Violation of the guest-friendship law used to be and still is tantamount to infringing of the honour. A clear and accurate explanation for the Trojan decision is contained in the Albanian Customary Law. Hence, under the Canon, **protection** is the guarantee offered to a guest welcome at home even at the cost of one's life, which, basically, means that the guest is protected against any enemy pursing them. Indeed, according to the Albanian custom, **if someone is in harm's way, and asks for protection while claiming you are his friend , even though he has never put his foot on the doorstep of your house, and if harm is done to him, he must be considered a family friend, and your honour must be deemed infringed.** [63] So, protection afforded to a guest both inside and outside the house is beyond dispute to a stranger, whom you do not know, and to whom you are not known; and, if he merely makes mention of your name as a friend of his, and asks for your protection, it would be deemed as violation of hospitality if an insult or physical assault is made on him. Hector told the

Achaean envoys that, ‘ **Helen should by no means be given up, for she was a suppliant at his home; good faith intervened, and they must keep her.** ’ [64] However, Ulysses says that, ‘I beg you, by the immortal gods, to ponder what will happen if you make a wrong decision. The effect will be a disaster, which will spread, like a plague, throughout the world. Friend will fear friend. Who will open his house even to his own brother? Who will not fear a guest or relative as if he were an enemy?’ [65]

The Achaeans were right in asking the return of the riches Helen had taken with her, if those riches belonged with the dynasty. They were right that Alexander had violated the laws of guest-friendship, for he had taken the woman given in marriage to Menelaus. However, a while ago the Achaeans had refrained from returning the wealth stolen from the Trojan King Laomedon, neither had they returned the abducted daughter, Princess Hesione, and they had slain the majority of Laomedon’ heirs and Laomedon himself. The difference being that, while the Achaeans took such things with war, Paris took them in time of peace.

Hospitality for the foe is another case, as was the case of hospitality extended to Priam by Achilles. The Albanian Customary Law also provides for the killer to attend the victim’s funeral. ‘ **If the victim’s family offers protection to the killer, even though the latter has perpetrated the murder, he must attend the mourning and funeral to accompany the slain person to his burial, and shall stay for dinner. Such protection shall last 24 hours.’** [66] The Albanian customary code stipulates that, ‘If a guest enters your home, an enemy though he may be, you shall have to welcome him.’ [67] Hence, the hospitality shown even for the enemy, which we see that Achilles extends to Priam, is also applicable among the Albanians today **.**

2- Blood feud

Blood-money, still applicable in Albania, is seen in *The Iliad* , when Odysseus said to Achilles, ‘ **A man accepteth recompense from the slayer of his brother, or for his dead**

son; and the slayer abideth in his own land for the paying of a great price, and the kinsman's heart and proud spirit are restrained by the taking of recompense .' [68] The Canon also foresee and today the compensation of blood.

3- Pledge and oath

Taking the oath is another customary institute having the force of law, which has been applicable both among the Trojans and the Achaeans, and is now applicable in several mountainous areas in Albania. In Albania, taking the oath calls for a certain procedure, and involves a certain number of participants. Thus, a committee is set up to deal with the procedure. The taking of the oath involves 12, 24, or 48 persons from both sides. Presently, such oath is sworn in church, under the Canon, and on stone. [69]

Under the Canon, 'The Albanian's oath shall take two issues into consideration:

a) it shall call upon God to bear witness to the truth;

b) it shall be subject to the increase in permanent punishments by fine, as specified by the Canon'. [70]

'The taking of the oath shall constitute a religious behaviour, by way of which one, so badly keen to be relieved from a violent blame, shall lay his hand on a mark of faith, by calling upon the name of the Lord to bear witness to the truth.' [71] Hence, the Albanian would swear an oath before God, and would willingly undergo eternal punishment for having broken the oath.

We notice the same oath-taking procedure among the Achaeans and Trojans. Prior to the duel between Paris and Menelaus, an oath was prepared for guaranteeing the agreement. Following preparation of the whole ceremony, they brought a black ewe, to sacrifice to Earth and Sun, and another one for Zeus. Agamemnon asked for Priam to be fetched ' **that he may himself swear an oath with sacrifice, seeing that his sons,'** he thought, ' **are over-weening and faithless; lest any by presumptuous act should do violence to the**

oaths of Zeus. Ever unstable are the hearts of the young; but in whatsoever an old man taketh part, he looketh both before and after, that the issue may be far the best for either side . ' [72] When they were ready for the oath-taking ceremony, Agamemnon prayed, 'Father Zeus , that rulest from Ida, most glorious, most great, and thou Sun, that beholdest all things and hearest all things, and ye rivers and thou earth, **and ye that in the world below take vengeance on men that are done with life, whosoever hath sworn a false oath** ; be ye witnesses, and watch over the oaths of faith .' [73] Having sacrificed the animals, wine from the bowl was poured into the cups, and the Trojans and Achaeans pled Zeus jointly, saying, ' Zeus, most glorious, most great, and ye other immortal gods, which host soever of the twain shall be first to work harm in defiance of the oaths, may their brains be thus poured forth upon the ground even as this wine, theirs and their children's; and may their wives be made slaves to others .' [74] Hence, the oath entailed curse as punishment for those who broke it, with this being an eternal punishment, and therefore, God was called upon to guarantee it. Afraid of God's punishment, before Him they swore the oath that they were telling the truth, and they would keep their word.

The cult of honour is related to the cult of keeping to one's word, or the 'cult of pledge,' as it is known among the Albanians. Helen begs Priam, ' **Now that the Trojans had made her welcome, and she had put her trust in them, they must not prove <u>faithless</u> .'** [75] **According to the Albanian Canon, 'the faithless, who himself betrays someone, or walks out on somebody being in his protection, shall be murdered by people in front of the whole village, and remain a person not eligible for blood revenge .** [76] **Hence, failure to keep one's pledge was a serious issue. The person breaking his word of honour was killed, and he was an unavenged person. Whereas Helen was rightfully asking Priam to provide protection to her,** and Odysseus rightfully accused him of failing to keep his pledge, however, in this case, the faithless was Paris and not Priam. Odysseus speaks, ' **Troy must be captured and fired, and you must become an**

example of punished impiety for our descendants .' [77] However, in this case, the Trojans found themselves in a more difficult position, for Helen was a suppliant at Priam's home, and he was obliged to give her such protection, in accordance with the custom of hospitality. On the other hand, the Achaeans wanted to punish Troy for having violated hospitality . *Hence, the Achaeans wanted Priam to break his word of honour and not extend hospitality to Helen, which were precisely the two institutes that they were asking him to observe in dealing with them. The Achaeans prove to be biased, because they have applied a double standard in the consideration of issues; namely, when it benefited them, they would request that such rights be observed, however, not when it benefited a female, also an Achaean one, thus, putting the Trojans in a very difficult position.*

4- Non-removal of the arm

In *The Iliad* , we see that it is a highly reprehensible act for one to remove and take away the protective gear of a slain person. This was also condemned by Zeus; hence, it was a divine law. As Homer wrote, when Zeus, the Cloud-Gatherer, saw Hector bent to wage war in the amour of Peleus' son, he shook his head, and said, ' **His comrade, kindly and valiant, has thou slain, and in unseemly wise hast stripped the armour from his head and shoulders.'** [78] Under the Albanian Canon, *the killer shall not dare to remove the arm of a slain person; if he does such deed of audacity, the killer shall enter into two blood feuds* . [79] Indeed, the Albanian Canon takes it one step further; under the Canon, stripping someone of his arm goes against honour. [80] For this reason, the person, who had brought shame on himself, could not make public appearances, until blood was paid for the lost honour.

1- Non-mutilation of the corpse

Under the Albanian Canon, defiling of the corpse, after having killed the victim, leads to two blood feuds, namely, one blood feud incurred for the killed person, and one for the defiling of the corpse. Where a murder or blood feud occurred, it was forbidden to carry out a massacre on the killed person's body;

indeed, the corpse had to be arranged, with the arm being placed in the dead person's hand. If additional wounds were inflicted on the victim's body following death, the perpetrator stood accused of double murder. The same is seen in *The Iliad* . As Dictys writes, ' **all of our leaders bewailed the death of Patroclus and, even more, the terrible way he had been mutilated; this was the first instance of such a shameful and inhuman act, a thing that the Greeks [Achaeans] had never practiced before** .' [81] Having killed Hector, Achilles took revenge by dragging the body for 12 days. Achilles told Priam that, **'until now, the Greeks [Achaeans] had obeyed civilized rules of war, and returned the bodies of their enemies for burial . But Hector had acted contrary to the laws of human nature, when he dragged the body of Patroclus from the battle, with the evident intent of abusing and defiling it. Now the Trojans must bear their punishments in expiation of this crime. Thus, in future time, the Greeks [Achaeans] and other people, remembering what had happened in this case, would keep the natural law .** [82]

2- Immorality and rape of a woman

If Paris had abducted Helen against her own wish, then the responsibility lied with him, and Helen was innocent. However, when Priam, standing before the Trojan Council, asked her, 'Do you want to go home?', **her answer was 'No.' 'She had not sailed, she said, unwillingly, for her marriage to Menelaus did not suit her.'** [83] This exonerated the Trojan Kingdom from any responsibility, and indeed, rendered Helen accountable, being liable to penalties, including penalty of death, at the hands of her husband Menelaus. According to the Albanian Canon, a woman is killed for being involved in lechery, and for betraying a guest. [84] The male and the woman, who have brought shame on themselves, are not eligible for blood revenge. [85] This means that no one has the right to avenge them.

On the other hand, Menelaus could in no way execute such capital punishment, because Helen was protected by the guest-friendship law; and as such, she would never be returned, and she would be protected for as long as the Trojan Dynasty held up. In this case, Paris was also relieved from the responsibility of abduction, but again could have been killed by Menelaus, given that he kept the woman married to another man, and they had the occasion on the battle-field in a duel that failed. For Priam to avoid the war he had to banish Paris and Helen from the kingdom, and they could find shelter somewhere else, but he did not do this for the sake of his son, and Helen's request for shelter, whom he was obliged to shelter under the guest-friendship laws. On the other hand, the Achaeans had taken Priam's sister in servitude, and this was unacceptable. Why? It concerned the same issue of honour and reputation, for he was the most powerful and the richest king at that time, and a local prince from a small island had taken his sister, being a princess, in servitude.

Aside from these legal institutes, the Albanians' present-day traditions and customs are like those practised in Homer's time. The same applies to the manner of bewailing aloud and in words, as well as with gestures. The legend on the building of Troy goes that it was built on the site where the ox sat down to rest. The same custom is found among the Albanians, as well, according to which the best place to build a house is on the site where the ox sits down to rest. The custom of animal sacrifice by host to honour the guest, as Achilles did for Priam, is still applicable. In addition, the Achaeans, and the Trojans, and the present-day Albanians share a great number of common customs and traditions.

Chapter II

THE BEGINNING OF THE TROJAN-ACHAEAN CONFLICT

2.1. The causes of the War of Troy

The cause of the War of Troy is the killing by the Achaeans, led by Heracles and Argonauts, of the King of Troy Laomedon, and the majority of his children, as well as the abduction of Princess Hesione. As the massacre was perpetrated, many of the riches of Troy were plundered. Subsequently, this led to the Trojan natural reaction to redress to the extent possible the consequence, at least the return of Princess Hesione. Abduction of Helen, the Queen of Sparta, could have been a cause of war, but in this case, it was an effect and excuse in order to attack and loot the rich Troy, and establish the rule in the then world. Hence, during a visit he paid to Priam, Achilles said to him that, **'What they really wanted to decide was who would rule the world.'** [86]

How did the story go?

When Jason of the Argonauts came to Phrygia, he docked at the port of the Simois River, and everyone went ashore. [87] Laomedon sent word to them to depart from the boundaries of his Kingdom. Jason and those, who had come with him, were deeply upset that Laomedon expelled them. Nevertheless, they were afraid to oppose him. [88] Actually, all the ships dropping anchor without permission at the land of another state were logically expelled, indeed by waging war against them. In this case, the Argonauts should have asked for permission to make anchorage; hence, Laomedon acted fairly, and there was no just cause for vengeance. According to Dares of Phrygia, 'Heracles was deeply upset at the insulting way Laomedon had treated him and those, who had gone with Jason to Colchis. He went to Sparta, and urged Castor and Pollux to help him take vengeance against Laomedon, saying that if they promised their aid, many others would follow. Castor and Pollux promised to do whatever he wanted.' [89] Heracles received aid from Telamon of Salamis, Peleus of Phthia, and Nestor of Pylos. On their arrival, they all set sail for Phrygia. [90]

Heracles went to Troy with a considerable army and during the siege, slew King Laomedon, and gave Telamon, the Hesione as the prize for being the first to enter in Troy. At this time, Priam, the heir prince of Troy, was in Phrygia, where

Laomedon, his father, had put him in charge of the army. Heracles and those, who had come with him, plundered the country, and carried much booty off to their ships. Then, they decided to set out for home. Telamon took Hesione with him. [91] When news was brought to Priam that his father had been killed, his fellow-citizens decimated, his country plundered, and his sister Hesione carried off as a prize of war, he was deeply upset to think that Phrygia had been treated with such contempt. Arriving in Troy, he saw to the maximum fortification of the city, built stronger walls, and stationed a greater number of soldiers nearby. Troy must not fall again, as it had under his father, Laomedon, through lack of preparedness. [92] Diodorus Siculus wrote that, Heracles gave the kingdom of the Iliad to Priam because of his sense of justice. [93] So he have and another view that Heracles gave to Priam the kingdom and it seems that it was a kind of agreement, as long as Priam came in power and after the city was occupied by Acheans. Priam took measures to secure the city, and sent Hector into Paeonia. He built the gates of Troy – the Antenorean, the Dardanian, the Ilian, the Scaean, the Thymbraean, and the Trojan. When he saw that Troy was secured, he waited until the time seemed right to avenge the wrongs his father had suffered. Priam's preparations till Helen's abduction went on for around 10 years. In the course of these 10 years, Priam would now and then demand the return of Hesione, but Telamon, who carried her off as a prize of war, instead of returning her, fathered his son Teucer, Ajax' brother.

2.2. Antenor is sent to the Achaeans to demand the return of Hesione

King Priam sent Antenor the Dardanian as an envoy, so that he could demand the return of Hesione. The Achaean army, he said, had done him grave wrongs by killing his father, Laomedon, and by carrying off Hesione. Nevertheless, if only Hesione was returned, he would cease to complain. [94] Antenor boarded a ship, and sailed to Magnesia to visit Peleus, who was Telamon's brother and Achilles' father. For three

days, Peleus entertained him hospitably, and on the fourth, asked why he had come. When Antenor demanded Hesione's return, 'Peleus was deeply upset, and since he saw that this was a matter, which touched his interests, he ordered Antenor to depart from his boundaries.' Antenor, without any delay, boarded his ship and, sailing along past Boeotia, came to the Island of Salamis. There he tried to persuade Telamon to return to Priam his sister. It was not right, he said, to hold a girl of royal rank in servitude. Telamon answered that he had committed no wrong against Priam. He refused to return her, whom he had received as a prize of war, and ordered Antenor to depart from his island. Antenor, having received Telamon's refusal, went on to Achaea, and met Castor and Pollux, Helen's twin brothers, and tried to persuade them to return Hesione. Castor and Pollux denied that Priam had suffered any injury, and ordered Antenor to depart. Then he went to Pylos, and told Nestor the purpose of his mission. Nestor was the son-in-law of Atreus and brother-in-law of Agamemnon and Menelaus, for he had married their sister Anaxibia. When Nestor knew why he had come, he began to scold him. How, he asked, had he dared to undertake this mission? The Phrygians had been the first to offend. When Antenor saw that he was accomplishing nothing, but that he was being treated with scorn, he boarded his ship, and returned to his homeland. Reporting to Priam, he told what each one had said, and how each one had treated him; and **he urged the king to make war** . [95]

2.3. Paris is sent to the Achaeans to demand the return of Hesione

Seeing that Antenor's mission failed, and he urged them to war, immediately Priam summoned his sons and all of his friends – Antenor, Anchises, Aeneas, Ucalegon, Bucolion, Panthus, and Lampus – and all the sons he had fathered by concubines. When they had come, he told them about Antenor's unsuccessful mission. Now, Priam was determined to send an army to make the Achaeans pay for their crimes. Hector responded by saying that he would carry out his

father's wishes, and avenge the death of his grandfather, Laomedon, and the other injustices that the Greeks [Achaeans] had done to the Trojans. He feared, however, that the Trojan expedition would fail, for Europe had bred many warlike men, who would come to the Greeks' [Achaeans'] aid, while they themselves, who lived in Asia, had spent their time in idleness, and built no ship. [96] In this aspect, Hector proved to be right, for the Achaeans or the Pelasgians were better sailors than the Trojans, and had a greater number of ships.

Priam sent Alexander and Deiphobus into Paeonia to raise an army, and sent Hector into Upper Phrygia. [97] After the ships were built, and the army, which Alexander and Deiphobus had raised in Paeonia had come, and when the time seemed right for sailing, Priam appointed Alexander as commander-in-chief, and made Deiphobus, Aeneas, and Polydamas high-ranking officers. First, he said, Alexander must go to Sparta, and ask Castor and Pollux to return Priam's sister Hesione, and to make reparations to the Trojans. Then, if Castor and Pollux refused, Alexander must send home word immediately. Thus, he, Priam, would feel able to order the army to go against Greece (Achaia). [98]

In the meantime, Atreus' descendants, following the burial of their grandfather the King of Crete, Catreus, who was the son of Minos, took part in the division of Atreus' wealth. Also, Menelaus and Agamemnon, who were the sons of Aerope, the daughter of Catreus, came to get their share. Aerope had three other sisters, and was married to King Atreus, or to his son Plisthenes – there are contradictory information as who was the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus. Some authors said that Agamemnon and Menelaus were the sons that Aerope had by Atreus, and some think that she had them with Plisthenes. Homer calls them Atreus' sons. Atreus was the twin brother of Thiestes, and Aerope was his brother's lover, and it was suspected that, actually, she had her two sons Plisthenes and Tantalus by Thiestes. Atreus sensed this, and submitted Aerope to death. Hence, Plisthenes, who could be the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus, could be Thiestes' son. Dictys of

Crete wrote that, ‘People often thought that their father was Atreus, because when their real father, Plisthenes, died young without having made a name for himself, Atreus, pitying their plight, had taken them in, and brought them up like princes.’ [99] Whatever the case, however, Agamemnon and Menelaus were direct descendants of Pelops the Phrygian and of the King Minos of Crete. We see that the then inheritance law, which provided for the women’s right to inheritance, was quite progressive.

There are a number of variants to describe Paris’ arrival in Sparta; according to some authors, he met Menelaus, who later on went away, and according to some others, he did not meet Menelaus. Apollodorus wrote that, ‘For nine days he was entertained by Menelaus; but on the tenth day, Menelaus having gone on a journey to Crete to perform the obsequies of his mother’s father Catreus, Alexander persuaded Helen to go off with him. And she abandoned Hermione, then nine years old, and putting most of the property on board, she set sail with him by night.’ [100] Dictys of Crete wrote that, ‘During the same time [that he was in Crete] the home of Menelaus at Sparta welcomed Alexander the Phrygian, the son of Priam, who had come with Aeneas and other of his relatives. Alexander, taking advantage of Menelaus’ absence, committed a very foul crime. Falling desperately in love with Helen, the most beautiful woman in Greece (Achaia, given that in the time when Dictys lived, the name *Greece* did not exist, with such name only being used later on in Latin translations), he carried her off, along with much wealth.’ [101] Whereas Dares of Phrygia wrote that, ‘[Paris] passed Menelaus, who was on his way to visit Nestor at Pylos. […] Castor and Pollux had gone to visit Clytemnestra at Argos, where the festival of Junos was being held; and they had taken along their niece Hermione, the daughter of Helen. It was at this time that Alexander arrived on Cythera, and sacrificed to Diana at a place where the temple of Venus was. While Alexander was on Cythera, Helen, the wife of Menelaus, decided to go there. Thus, she went to the shore, to the seaport town of Helaea, intending to worship in the temple of Diana and Apollo.

Alexander, on hearing that she had arrived, wanted to see her. Confident in his own good looks, he began to walk within sight of her. When Helen learned that Alexander, who was the son of King Priam, had come to Helaea, she also wanted to see him. Thus, they met, and spent some time just staring, struck by each other's beauty. Alexander ordered his men to be ready to sail that night. They would seize Helen in the temple, and take her home with them.' [102] Another variant was it that, 'Alexander was entertained by the sons of Tyndareus, and afterwards by Menelaus in Sparta, where, in the course of a feast, he gives gifts to Helen. After this, Menelaus sets sail for Crete, ordering Helen to furnish the guests with all they require until they depart. Meanwhile, Aphrodite brings Helen and Alexander together, and they, after their union, put very great treasures on board, and sail away by night.' [103] Hence, different locations are depicted for Menelaus, however, reference is made to the same fact that he was not in Sparta at the time when Helen is abducted, or escaped away from home with Paris. Taking in consideration that they took a very large part of the royal treasures to Sparta, then both of them must have been in agreement to run off from Menelaus' mansion, which must have been somewhere close by the sea.

Dares wrote that, 'Helen resembled Castor and Pollux. She was beautiful, ingenuous, and charming. Her legs were the best; her mouth the cutest. There was a beauty-mark between her eyebrows.' [104] Whereas 'Alexander was fair, tall, and brave. His eyes were very beautiful, his hair soft and blond, his mouth charming, and his voice pleasant. He was swift, and eager to take command.' [105] Hence, both were very good-looking, and in terms of social position, she was the Queen of Sparta, and he was the Prince of Troy.

Dictys wrote that, 'when [Alexander] sailed from Sparta, hastily and taking no thought of the weather, the winds had forced him to Cyprus. After obtaining some ships, he had then gone on to Phoenicia, where the King of the Sidonians received him kindly. But he treacherously slaughtered the king at night, and, venting again that criminal lust he had shown at

Sparta, pillaged the palace.' [106] Herodotus wrote that, 'Alexander arrived at Ilium with Helen on the third day after he left Sparta, the wind having been favourable, and the sea smooth.' [107] According to another variant, 'Hera stirs up a storm against them, and they are carried to Sidon, where Alexander took the city. From there he sailed to Troy, and celebrated his marriage with Helen.' [108] Apollodorus wrote that, 'And fearing lest he should be pursued, Alexander spent much time in Phoenicia and Cyprus. But when he thought that all chance of pursuit was over, he came to Troy with Helen.' [109]

'When Menelaus was aware of the rape, he came to Agamemnon at Mycenae, and begged him to muster an army against Troy, and to raise levies in Greece. And he, sending a herald to each of the kings, reminded them of the oaths which they had sworn, and warned them to look to the safety each of his own wife, saying that the insult had been offered equally to the whole of Greece [Achaia].' [110] Menelaus was deeply upset by the abduction of his wife. Agamemnon, Nestor, and all the rulers of Greece [Achaea], who were descendants of Pelops, having heard the news, had already gathered together at Sparta. They swore to avenge the wrongs done to them by the Trojans, and decided to levy an army and fleet to that effect. First, they decided to send envoys to Troy. Palamedes, Ulysses, and Menelaus were chosen to go, and instructed to complain of the crime, and demand the return of Helen, and the things that had been carried off. [111]

2.4. Achaeans' demand for the return of Helen the Queen of Sparta

While Paris had not yet arrived in Troy from Phoenicia, where the storm is thought to have carried him, the Achaeans had already arrived for talks. Priam let Palamedes speak at a meeting of the Trojan Council, with his speech clearly defining the Achaeans' attitude. First, he made his complaint, describing the criminal way Alexander had broken the ties of mutual friendship, and warned of the conflict that they might have because of this act. He also cited the feud between Ilus

and Pelops, who, for similar reasons, had come to the point of committing their countries to war. And then, comparing the hazards of war with the blessings of peace, he said that he knew that most of the Trojans hated this barbarous crime; all would abandon those, who were guilty, and the guilty would have to pay for their impious acts. [112]

Palamedes wanted to finish his speech, but Priam interrupted, and said, 'I beseech you, Palamedes, to go more slowly. It seems unfair to attack a man who is absent, who, if he were present, might refute the criminal charges you are bringing against him.' Thus, Priam ordered Palamedes to deter his complaint until Alexander arrived. He had noticed everyone, who was present in the Council, being moved by Palamedes' speech; though they were silent, nevertheless they showed by their faces that they were condemning the things Alexander had done. Palamedes was making his points with marvellous eloquence, and there was a certain indescribable force in the moving tone of his speech. Then, the Council broke up for that day. The envoys went home with Antenor, happy to be his guests. He was a gracious host, and a man who, more than anyone else, loved the good and the true. [113]

2.5. Helen's refusal before the Trojan Council to go back to Sparta

Dares of Phrygia wrote that, a few days later, Alexander arrived home, and gave his father an exact description of everything he had done. Priam was delighted. He hoped that the Greeks [Achaeans] would seek to recover Helen, and thus, would return his sister Hesione, and the things they had taken from Troy. He consoled Helen, who was having regrets, and gave her to Alexander to marry. [114] Upon his arrival, all the people showed their disgust at what he had done: some cursed the evil precedent he had set; others bewailed the injustice Menelaus had suffered. And finally, disgusted and angry, they raised a revolt. Priam, alarmed by this turn of events, called together his sons, and asked what course they advised. **They answered unanimously that, no matter what happened, Helen should not be returned.** [115] Leaving his sons, Priam

called together the elders. After reporting what his sons had decided, he asked each member to give his advice. This was the custom. But, before anyone could state his opinion, Dictys wrote, the princes suddenly broke into the Council– never before had this happened – and threatened all the members: they had better not find anyone opposing their will. [116]

On the following day, King Priam, at the insistence of Hecuba, went to Helen. Greeting her kindly, he urged her to feel well-disposed and asked who she was, and what was her family. After revealing her whole genealogy, she burst into tears, and begged him not to return her. Now that the Trojans had made her welcome, and she had put her trust in them, they must not prove **faithless** . Everything Alexander had taken from Menelaus' home belonged to her; nothing else had been taken. [117] According to Dictys of Crete, it was by no means clear why she preferred to look after her interests in this way. Was it because of her immodest love for Alexander, or because of her fear of the punishment her husband would exact for desertion? When Hecuba was informed of Helen's attitude, and of the relation between their families, she embraced her, and did everything she could to prevent her being returned. [118] So, we see that the royal family, where Helen has found refuge, did agree to keep her, irrespective of the will of the Trojan and Achaean people.

On the next day, Menelaus, accompanied by other envoys, came into the Trojan Elders' Council. Menelaus was of moderate stature, auburn-haired, and handsome. He had a pleasing personality. [119] He demanded the return of his wife, and the things Alexander had taken. Priam proved to be transparent, for he left it up to Helen to decide whether she wanted to return or not, and this was a decent act of civilization to uphold a woman's decisions regarding her life. Therefore, he summoned Helen to appear before the entire Trojan Council. **Then Priam, standing in the midst of the princes, and calling for silence, said that Helen (who had come into public view for this purpose) should have the right to decide. When he asked her, 'Do you want to go**

home?' her answer, so they reported, was 'No,' so Dictys wrote. She had not sailed, she said, unwillingly, for her marriage to Menelaus did not suit her. And so, the princes left the assembly, exulting, with Helen . [120]

When they had gone, Ulysses, though he knew that nothing he said would make any difference, argued for argument's sake. He reviewed everything Alexander had done, and swore that the Greeks [Achaeans] would soon be avenging these crimes. [121] If Helen and the booty were returned, and proper reparations were made, the Achaeans would depart in peace. Priam answered by reviewing the wrongs the Argonauts had done: the death of his father, the sack of Troy, and the capture of his sister Hesione. He ended by describing how contemptuously the Greeks [Achaeans] had treated Antenor, when sent as his envoy. He, therefore, repudiated peace. He declared war, and commanded that the envoys of the Achaeans be expelled from his boundaries. [122]

When Priam's sons were told what had happened, they secretly swore to kidnap the envoys. They believed, quite rightly, that the envoys, having failed to accomplish their mission, would return to Greece [Achaia], and demand a full-scale war against Troy. Antenor, Dictys wrote, thwarted this plot. Going to Priam, he complained about the conspiracy: Priam's sons were not plotting against the envoys, but against himself, and this he would not endure. Soon afterwards he informed the envoys. Thus, every precaution was taken; he gave them a guard and, at the first opportunity, sent them home unharmed. [123] Hence, the Achaeans' delegation left Troy without taking away any agreement, due to Helen's decision not to return.

2.6. Achaeans' attack on the Mysians

There is contradictory information about the time when this attack took place, for the time that Apollodorus and Dares put around it coincides with the time when the Achaean delegation was found at Troy, whereas, according to Dictys, it took place 10 years later, when the fleet had gathered at Aulis, and sat sail for Troy. Dares wrote that Diomedes and Ulysses were chosen

to go on this mission to demand the return of Helen. At the same time, Achilles and Telephus were sent to plunder Mysia, the region ruled by King Teuthras. [124] Telephus, the son of Hercules, joined the Achaeans against the Mysians. Telephus had been raised by the King of the Mysians, Teuthras, when his mother was abandoned by Heracles during her pregnancy. Dares wrote that, '[they] had begun to despoil the country, when Teuthras arrived with his army. Thereupon, Achilles put the enemy to flight, and also wounded the King. He would have finished him off if Telephus had not stood in his way. Telephus came to Teuthras' aid, and protected him under his shield, for he remembered their friendship, the time in his boyhood when Teuthras had been his generous host. […] Now Teuthras realised that he was unable to live much longer, and so he appointed Telephus heir to the throne, and King of Mysia.' [125] Then Achilles urged him to stay behind, and take care of his newly gained kingdom. [126]

Whereas, in the variant that Dictys offers, Telephus was the King of the Mysians. According to Dictys, at that time Mysia was ruled by King Telephus, who forbade the Achaean forces to come ashore. Some of the Achaeans paid no heed to these orders, and began to debark without permission, and an armed conflict between them ensued, where the King's brother Teuthranius died fighting. Teuthranius was the son of Teuthras and Auge; and the half-brother of Telephus, for they had the same mother. [127] Telephus, being deeply upset by the death of his brother, and seeking for vengeance, attacked the enemy line, but was wounded on his left thigh by Achilles' spear. Thus, with the coming of night, all were glad to stop fighting. The Mysians returned to their homes, the Achaeans to the ships. Great was the number of those, who were slain in this battle, but greater still was the number of those, who were wounded. [128] (At this time, Achilles was thought to be 15 years old, if reference is made to the war, according to Dares and Apollodorus, and 23 years old, if reference is made to Dictys, and he must have died at the age of 33 years old).

Meanwhile Tlepolemus and the brothers Antiphus and Phidippus (who were the sons of Thessalus and grandsons of Hercules) learned that Telephus was the ruler of Mysia. Relying for protection on the fact of this kinship, they went and told him who they were, and with whom they had sailed. Finally, after a long conversation, they bitterly accused him of the hostile way he had opposed his own people, pointing out that Agamemnon and Menelaus, who had brought together their army, were descendants of Pelops, and therefore, not unrelated to him. Then, they told him about the abduction of Helen, and therefore, he should want to aid the Achaeans, because of his relationship with them, and especially, in view of Alexander's violation of the laws of guest-friendship. [129]

Telephus, though terribly pained by his wound, answered their charges politely. What had happened, he said, was not his fault, but theirs. He had not known that they, who had come, were closest friends and cherished relatives. They should have sent ahead messengers to announce their arrival, and he would have gone and met them, bidden them welcome, and made them at home; they would have been his guests, and he would have sent them off with gifts when they thought they must go . *As for the expedition against Priam, he refused to take part; he was prevented by the closest bonds of kinship, for his wife Astyoche, the mother of his son Eurypylus, was one of Priam's daughters* . [130]

Telephus advised them to sail to Troy in the beginning of spring. Later on, by unanimous agreement, as Dictys wrote, 'we returned to Boeotia, and having hauled up our ships, dispersed to spend the winter in our different kingdoms.' [131] For it was in the second year after the rape of Helen that the Greeks, having completed their preparations, set out on the expedition, and after their retirement from Mysia to Greece, eight years elapsed before they again returned to Argos, and came to Aulis [132]. Hence, Apollodorus and Dares shared the opinion that this happened prior to the gathering of the fleet at Aulis, so around the second year after Helen had left.

Chapter III

TEN-YEARS LONG PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

3.1. War coalitions

After having failed in their mission, the Achaean envoys returned to Sparta, and told about the decision of Helen, who had refused to return, as well as about Priam's refusal to give her up against her wish. The envoys reported before the members of the Council, who, having heard this report, decided to make preparations for war in their different regions and kingdoms. They chose Argos, which was the realm of Diomedes, as a good place to meet, and make plans for the war.

‘It took five years for all the ships to be equipped and readied. When, however, nothing except the soldier’s absence prevented us from sailing,’ Dictys wrote, ‘all of our leaders, at the same time, as if at a given signal, came together at Aulis.’ [133] The Achaeans gathered at Alius, 9 years after Helen had left, and in the tenth year, they debarked at Troy. They decided to appoint a commander-in-chief. Accordingly, in the temple of the Argive Juno, **everyone, having received a ballot,** wrote (in Phoenician letters) the name of the man he thought would make the best leader. **Agamemnon was chosen,** and thus, with the hearty approval of each and every one, he took upon himself the command of the forces. He deserved this position for two reasons: first, he was the brother of the man for whose sake they were fighting; and second, he was considered the wealthiest and most powerful king among all the Achaeans. Then, they appointed Achilles, Ajax, and Phoenix to be the leaders in charge of the fleet; and gave Palamedes, Diomedes, and Ulysses joint command of the army-in-camp, that is, the routine duties of the day, and the watches of the night. [134] We see that election by secret vote is much older than what is reportedly said, for it dates back to the Bronze Age, and has reportedly been applied by a dynasty descending from the Phrygian Illyrians. Thucydides wrote that, ‘What enabled Agamemnon to raise the armament was more, in my opinion, his superiority in strength, than the oaths of Tyndareus, which bound the suitors to follow him.’ [135]

After all the armies and ships gathered at Aulis, and were hastening to sail, a plague began to attack them, for which many blamed Agamemnon, for he had struck a she-goat through with his spear near a grove of Diana, and this was some sort of vengeance on him. Ulysses sneaked off to Mycenae, and took Clytemnestra a letter he had forged in the name of her husband. The gist of this letter was as follows: Achilles refused to sail for Troy until he had married their oldest daughter, Iphigenia, whom they had promised to him; therefore, she should send Iphigenia to Aulis, along with the dowry, as quickly as possible. In addition to bringing this letter, Ulysses said many things to strengthen Clytemnestra’s

belief in its contents. Thus, she, desiring both to recover her sister Helen, and, even more, to marry her daughter to so famous a man, gladly entrusted Iphigenia to Ulysses. Within a few days, he returned to the camp, and appeared unexpectedly with the girl in the grove of Diana. When Agamemnon knew what had happened, he wanted to flee, either because of his love for his daughter, or because he wanted no part in so criminal sacrifice. Nestor, however, persuaded him to stay. [136]

Ulysses, Menelaus, and Calchas were put in charge of the sacrifice; everyone else was kept at a distance. When they had begun to adorn the girl, lo and behold, the day began to darken. This was perplexing them all, and instead of the girl, they sacrificed a deer, which took her place before the very altar, for the goddess did not want such offering. [137] While these things were happening, Achilles received a personal letter from Clytemnestra, and also a great deal of gold; she commended her daughter and all of her house to him. When he had read the letter, he realised the scheme of Ulysses and, dropping all other concerns, rushed to the grove, shouting for Menelaus and the other officiates to keep their hands off Iphigenia, or else he would kill them. He found them still in a state of shock; and when the weather had cleared, he freed the girl. Then, Achilles and the three officiates, acting in complete secrecy, entrusted the girl to the King of the Scythians, who was there at this time. [138] Hence, Iphigenia was saved, but everyone thought that she was sacrificed, and Agamemnon was made commander-in-chief once again, and they boarded the ships for Troy.

3.2. The Achaeans and their allies

Dares wrote that there were 49 leaders, and they brought a total of 1,130 ships. [139] According to Apollodorus, the total of ships was one thousand and thirteen; of leaders, forty-three. [140] Actually, this information furnished by both Dares and Apollodorus does not prove to be accurate, for a calculation of the ships as accounted by Dictys, Dares, Apollodorus, and Homer, gives a much greater number than that of 1,300 ships.

1 - Agamemnon, King of Mycenae, was appointed by secret ballot commander-in-chief of the entire Achaean fleet. He assembled a fleet of 100 ships from Mycenae, in addition to 60 others from various cities under his power. He put Agapenor in charge. [141] Apollodorus wrote that, Agamemnon in person was in command of the whole army, and Achilles was admiral, being fifteen years old. [142]

2 - Agapenor came from Arcadia with 40 ships. [143] According to Homer, Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, and grandson of Lycurgus had 60 ships. [144] Apollodorus mentioned 7 ships. [145] Agapenor came from the Pelasgian Arcadia in Central Peloponnese. There is no accurate indication whether Agapenor's ships were comprised in these 160 ships that Agamemnon assembled, or were calculated apart.

3 - Nestor equipped a fleet of 90 ships. He came from the seaside city of Pylos in the region of Navarino, or Messenia in Peloponnese. [146] Whereas according to Dares, Nestor arrived from Pylos with 80 ships. [147]

4 - Menelaus had 60 ships from all Lacedaemon, or Sparta. [148]

5 - Menestheus came with 40 ships from Athens. [149] According to Dares and Apollodorus, Menestheus from Athens had 50 ships. [150]

6 - Elephenor brought 40 ships from Euboea. [151]

7 – Ajax, the son of Telamon, from Salamis, brought 12 ships. [152]

8 - Diomedes arrived with 80 ships from Argos. [153]

9 - Ascalaphus and Ialmenus came with 30 ships from Orchomenus, from the region of Boeotia. [154]

10 - Ajax, the son of Oeleus, brought 40 ships, according to Dictys. According to Dares, he brought 37 ships. Whereas according to Apollodorus, he brought 40 ships. [155] He was from Locris.

11 - Arcesilaus, Prothoenor, Peneleus, Leitus, and Clonius arrived with 50 ships from all Boeotia. [156]

12 - Schedius and Epistrophus came with 50 ships from Phocis, according to Dictys. [157]

13- Thalpius and Diores, along with Amphimachus and Polyxenus, came with 40 ships from Elis and the other cities of this region in Peloponnese. [158]

14- Thoas came with 40 ships from Aetolia. [159]

15- Meges arrived with 40 ships from Dulichium and the islands of the Echidnades. [160]

16- Idomeneus and Meriones came with 80 ships from all Crete. [161] According to Apollodorus, of the Cretans, Idomeneus, the son of Deucalion, had 40 ships. [162]

17 – Ulysses brought 12 ships from Ithaca. [163]

18 - Prothous came with 40 ships from Magnesia. [164]

19 - Tlepolemus brought 9 ships from Rhodes and the other islands about. [165] He was the son of Heracles with the Epirote woman Astyocheia from Ephyre, near the Selleis River.

20 – Eumelus brought 11 ships from Pherae. [166] Whereas according to Dares, Eumelus from Pherae came with 10 ships. [167] He was from the Pelasgian Thessaly.

21 – Achilles, accompanied by Patroclus and the Myrmidones, arrived from Phthia with 50 ships. [168]

22 - Nireus brought 3 ships from Syme. [169] Dares wrote that Nireus from Syme came with 53 ships. [170]

23 - Podarces and Protesilaus came with 40 ships from Phylaca and the other places they controlled. [171]

24 – Podalirus and Machaon brought 30 ships. Dares speaks of 32 ships. They were from Tricca of Thessaly.

25 - Philoctetes arrived with 7 ships from Meliboea (Thessaly). [172]

26 - Eurypylus brought 40 ships from Ormenion. [173]

27 – Guneus came with 22 ships from Perrhaebia. [174]

28 - Leonteus and Polypoetes brought 40 ships from their regions. [175]

29 - Phidippus and Antiphus came with 30 ships from the islands of Cos and Crapathus. [176]

30 – Thersander, the son of Polynices, arrived with 50 ships from Thebes. [177]

31 - Calchas brought 20 ships from Acarnania. [178]

32 - Mopsus came with 20 ships from Colophon. [179]

33 - Epeus arrived with 30 ships from the islands of the Cyclades. [180]

35 – Antiphus and Amphimachus from Elis brought 11 ships. [181]

1- Trojans and their allies

1- Prince Hector the Dardanian, the son of King Priam the Dardanian, commanded the entire army of the Trojan Confederation, which included all of the Asia Minor, Thrace, and a part of Illyria (the large tribe of the Paeonians). Priam made Hector commander-in-chief of the Trojan and ally armies. Second-in-command were Deiphobus, Alexander, Troilus, Aeneas, and Memnon. [182] In his description of Hector, Dares wrote that his complexion was fair, his hair curly. His eyes would blink attractively. His movements were swift. His face, with its beard, was noble. He was handsome, fierce, and high-spirited, merciful to the citizens, and deserving of love. [183]

2- Aeneas the Dardanian led the Dardanians, and with him were the two sons of Antenor, Archelochus and Acamas, both skilled in the arts of war. Aeneas was auburn-haired, stocky, eloquent, courteous, prudent, pious, and charming. His eyes were black and twinkling. [184]

3- Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, from Zeleia, [185] was one of the best archers.

4- Hippothous and Pylaeus, the sons of Lethus, from Pelasgian Larissa [186] (sons twain of Pelasgian Lethus, the son of Teutamus). The Pelasgian princes represented the Pelasgian Larissa in Asia Minor, and not the Pelasgian Larissa in the Illyricum Peninsula.

5- Acamas and Pirus from Thrace. [187]

6- Rhesus and Archilochus from Thrace. [188]

7- Euphemus, the son of Troezenus, who led the Ciconians. [189]

8- Pylaemenes, the Paphlagonian, whose father was Melius, [190] were from Eneti in Asia Minor.

9- Odius and Epistrophus, the sons of Minos, led the Alizonians. [191]

10 – Sarpedon and Glaucus, the son of Xanthus, who led the Lycians. [192] At this time, there are two separate Lycias, which are united from the ethnic point of view. Glaucus, the son of Hippolocus, from Lycia, whom Sarpedon had summoned to share the command, because he surpassed all other Lycians in counsel and arms. [193] Dictys wrote, 'During this time we were unable, either by bribery or by the influence of Phalis, the king of the Sidonians, to entice the Lycian Sarpedon to follow our alliance. Priam, by offering larger gifts (which afterwards were doubled), had already won his support for the Trojans.' [194]

10 - Nastes and Amphimachus, the sons of Nomion, from Caria (Mount Mykale). [195]

11 - Antiphus and Mestheles, the sons of Talaemenes, from Maeonia. [196] They lived on Mount Tmolus.

12 - Phorcys and Ascanius from Phrygia, Ascania. [197]

13 - Chromius and Ennomus, who were Mygdonians, from Mysia. [198]

14 - Pyraechmes, the son of Axius, from Paeonia. [199]

15 - Amphius and Adrastus, the sons of Merops. [200]

16 - Asius, the son of Hyrtacus, from Sestos. [201]

17 - The other Asius, the son of Dymas and the brother of Hecuba, from Phrygia. [202]

18 - Eurypylus, the King of the Mysians in Asia Minor.

20 - Perses and Memnon from Ethiopia. [203] They led a large African-Indian army.

21 - Mopsus from Colophon. [204]

22 – Amazons with Queen Penthesilea.

Strabo wrote that, since the Leleges and the Cilicians were so closely related to the Trojans, people seek the reason why they are not included in the *Catalogue* along with the Trojans. However, it is reasonable to suppose that, because of the loss of their leaders and the sacking of their cities, the few Cilicians that were left were placed under the command of Hector, for both Etion and his sons are said to have been slain before the *Catalogu e* . But he makes the Leleges present at the battles when he says as follows, 'Towards the sea are situated the Carians and the Paeonians, with curved bows, and the Leleges and Caucones.' [205]

Chapter IV

THE ACHAEANS LAND AT TROY

4.1. The Achaean fleet lands at Troy

The Achaeans debated whether they should make their attack against the Trojans secretly at night, or during the day. Palamedes urged them to land by day, for, thus, they would draw the enemy forces out of the city. His advice was accepted unanimously. Then, they decided to give Agamemnon command; and the envoys were appointed to gather supplies in Mysia and other places. [206] Meanwhile the Lycian Sarpedon, the son of Xanthus and Laodamia, had led a huge army to Troy. 'Having noticed from afar that our great armada was landing,' Dictys wrote, 'he realised the situation and, alerting his forces, rushed to prevent our debarking. Soon afterwards, the sons of Priam learned what was happening and, taking up arms, ran to the aid of Sarpedon. Thus, we were fiercely attacked in every way.' [207] Hector met and slew Protesilaus, and caused great confusion. The losses on both sides were heavy until the arrival of Achilles caused all the Trojans to flee back to Troy. When night brought an end to the battle, Agamemnon led forth all his army onto the land, and set up camp. [208] Protesilaus was given such name later on, for he was the first to land at Troy; his real name is **Iolaus** . He was from Phylaca in Thessaly, near Thebes. His brother Podarces took his place in the war against Troy.

4.2. The Achaeans destroy 12 Trojan city-states

While the Achaeans were burying Iolaus, Cicnus, who ruled a kingdom near Troy, attacked them. 'His attack was made against those of our men, who were preoccupied with the burial of Iolaus. These, expecting no trouble, were caught unawares, and forced to flee in utter disorder. But soon the rest of our men,' Dictys wrote, 'those not entrusted with the burial, learned what was happening, and came to the rescue. Among those was Achilles, who encountered and slew Cycnus, along with countless numbers of others; thus, those, who had fled, were relieved.' [209]

According to Dictys, '[the] frequent raids by the enemy caused heavy casualties to our side, and deeply disturbed our leaders. Therefore, the first thing we decided to do was to attack the cities in the region near Troy with a part of our army, and wreak destruction.' [210] '[…] Achilles suspected that the states bordering on Troy were Trojan allies and, so to speak, a Trojan arsenal. Accordingly, taking some ships, he attacked **Lesbos, and easily took it by storm.** Having slain Phorbas, the king of this island, who had committed many acts of hostility against us,' Dictys wrote, 'he carried off Diomedea, Phorbas' daughter, along with much booty. Then, as all of his soldiers demanded it, he attacked the wealthy cities of **Scyros and Hierapolis** with all of his forces; and these he utterly destroyed without any trouble in a few days.' [211]

But Achilles was by no means content with what he had already done. Therefore, he attacked the Cilicians and, within a few days, took Lyrnessos by storm. Having slain Eetion, the King of Lyrnessos, he filled his ships with much wealth, and carried Astynome off, the daughter of Chryses and, at that time, Eetion's wife. Then Achilles hastened to storm **Pedasos** , a city of the Leleges. When Brises, the King of the Leleges, saw the fierceness of the siege, he realised that there was no way the enemy could be resisted. The city was taken immediately; many people were killed, and Hippodamia, the daughter of Brises, was carried off. [212]

'During the same time, Ajax, the son of Telamon, made a sweeping attack against the **Thracian Chersonese** . When Polymestor, the king of this region, learned of Ajax' prowess in war, he thought it was useless to fight, and sought terms of surrender. First, he handed over Priam's son, Polydorus. (Priam, acting in complete secrecy, had sent this son, soon after birth, across to the Thracians to raise.) Second, he gave gold and other such gifts, enough to satisfy his enemy's demands. Third, he promised a year's supply of grain for the entire Achaean army, and filled the merchant ships Ajax had brought for this purpose. When, finally, he had denounced, with many curses, his treaty with Priam against us,' Dictys

wrote, 'his plea for peace was deemed acceptable.' [213] Hence, the King of Thrace dashed the agreement with Troy, which had been guaranteed by giving Priam's son as a pledge, and entered into an agreement with the Achaeans, under clearly specified terms and conditions.

After completing this campaign, Ajax turned toward the country of the **Phrygians.** He attacked them, and slew their ruler **Teuthras** in single combat. Within a few days, he had stormed and fired their city, and carried off a great amount of booty, including Tecmessa, the daughter of Teuthras. [214]

First, from the booty that Achilles had brought, Astynome was given, by unanimous decision, to Agamemnon in view of his kingly office. As for Achilles, he kept Diomedea and also Hippodamia, the daughter of Brises. It would have been cruel to separate these girls, for they were of the same age, and from similar backgrounds; furthermore, they had fallen at Achilles' feet, and begged him not to let them be parted. The rest of Achilles' booty was distributed among the men according to merit. Ajax was allowed to keep Tecmessa, the daughter of Teuthras. [215]

Hence, the Achaean army, in a general well-organised attack, engaged in fighting against Troy's allies, and about 12 city-states were destroyed and looted, including the cities of Thrace, Phrygia, Leleges, and others.

4.3. Second demand before the Trojan Council for the restoration of Helen

Prior to engaging in direct hostilities with the Trojans, Menelaus and the Achaeans' delegation were again received by the Trojan Council. At the meeting of the Council, Menelaus said that now he had come a second time, but for the same reason. He complained about all the wrongs to himself and his house, and especially bewailed the fact that Helen's absence had made an orphan of his daughter. A former friend, he said, a former guest, had done him all these wrongs. Seeing

the depth of his sorrow, the Trojan leaders wept, and agreed with all he had said. [216]

Next, Ulysses stood up in their midst, and made a speech on the consequences that failure to return Helen would entail. Ulysses said amongst others, 'As soon as Alexander had attacked and insulted the Greeks [Achaeans], we did not yield to temptation, and hasten to arms. […] Instead, as you remember, our Council sent us, along with Menelaus, as envoys to seek the recovery of Helen. But we got nothing from Priam and his princes, nothing but haughty, threatening words, and hidden treacheries. Therefore, with the failure of our mission, it was to be expected, I think, that we should take up arms, and obtain by force what we had been unable to get by friendly means. Thus, we have assembled an army with many excellent and famous leaders. But not even so have we determined on war. Rather, following our usual custom, and showing our usual moderation, we have come again to implore you in the same cause. Trojans, the rest is in your hands. We will not think less of you for correcting your previous ill-advised actions. Consider only what is wise, and make a sound decision. I beg you, by the immortal gods, to ponder what will happen if you make a wrong decision. The effect will be a disaster, which will spread, like a plague, throughout the world. After this, when anyone is entering into an important negotiation, will he not, remembering Alexander's crime, find manifold reason for being suspicious, and fearing deceit? Friend will fear friend. Who will open his house even to his own brother? Who will not fear a guest, or relative, as if he were an enemy? […] Therefore, Trojan leaders,' he went on, 'do what is good and right, be truly friendly and just. Send the Greeks [Achaeans] home with everything that was stolen from them. Do not wait until our two kingdoms, in spite of their friendship, actually come to hostilities.' [217]

'Our success is shown by Polydorus' capture. We will give Polydorus to Priam unharmed when Helen, at long last, is returned with everything that was stolen. If this does not happen, there must be immediate war, continuous war, until

one side is completely victorious. Either all the Greek [Achaean] leaders, any of whom could cause your city's destruction, must die, or, as I hope, Troy must be captured and fired, and you must become an example of punished impiety for our descendants. I beg you, therefore, I implore you, have foresight, while matters are still in your hands.' [218] Antimachus said that the Trojans should detain Menelaus until Polydorus was returned, and treat Menelaus exactly as Polydorus was treated. Everyone was silent to this suggestion with the exception of Antenor, who, using all the powers at his command, tried to prevent the Council from such a course. He and Antimachus argued hotly, and finally, their passions led them to blows. Then, all the others, who were present, proclaimed Antimachus an unruly, seditious person, and drove him from the Council. [219] Even though this could have saved Polydorus' life, it ran afoul of the rules governing guest-friendship and envoys' safety; hence, such proposal was as immoral as was the Achaean blackmail.

Panthus begged Hector (who was believed to be the best of the princes in counsel, as well as in courage) to return Helen peacefully, now that the envoys had come to regain her. Alexander, he said, had had time enough to satisfy whatever love he had had for Helen. The Greek [Achaean] kings were in their country, and had recently sacked cities, which were friendly to Troy. Furthermore, such successes had caused Polymestor willingly to commit the horrible crime of handing over Polydorus. The Trojans should learn from this example, and fear that the neighbouring regions might enter into similar schemes, and plot the destruction of Troy. Such an attack would catch the Trojans completely off guard; bonds of faith would be broken; treachery would reign everywhere; former pacts would be dashed. Therefore, they in the Council should see things as they really were, and delay the envoys no longer, but give Helen up. On hearing this, Hector was saddened and wept, remembering his brother's crime. Nevertheless, he thought that Helen should by no means be given up, for she was a suppliant at his home; good faith intervened, and they must keep her. If, however, the envoys would enumerate the

various articles that had been carried off with Helen, all of these things, he thought, should be returned. And, to take Helen's place, Cassandra or Polyxena, whichever seemed best to the envoys, should be given in marriage to Menelaus, along with a handsome dowry. [220]

Menelaus was terribly angered at this, and answered as follows, '… I […], who have been robbed of my wife, am forced to marry again according to the will of my enemies.' Then Aeneas replied, 'You will not even be granted this favour, since I and the other relatives and friends, who advise Alexander, strongly oppose it. Fortunately, there are, and always will be, those who safeguard the house and kingdom of Priam. The loss of Polydorus does not leave Priam bereft of children, for he still has many other such sons.' [221] As soon as the Trojan people learned how Aeneas had answered the envoys, they raised a huge tumult. Aeneas, they thought, was without a doubt a diplomat of the very worst sort; he was the reason why Priam's kingdom was hated, and Priam's whole house was headed for ruin. [222]

The envoys, having returned to camp, determined to kill Polydorus within view of the wall, where all the Trojans could easily see what was done. 'Delaying no further, we led him into the centre,' Dictys wrote, 'and stoned him to death in payment of his brother's impiety, while most of the enemy watched from the walls. Then, we sent a herald to tell the Trojans to come and get the body for burial. Idaeus came and, with the help of some slaves of the king, took Polydorus, mangled and torn by the stones, back to his mother, Hecuba.' [223]

4.4. The duel between Paris and Menelaus

The Achaeans and Trojans prepared to lead their armies onto the plain between Troy and the ships. When everything seemed ready for battle, both sides, in full force, cautiously advanced. At given signals, the front lines clashed, and among the Trojan leaders, who were wounded, according to Dictys,

were Aeneas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Helenus, Euphorbus, and Polydamas, and those among the Achaeans, who were afflicted, were Ulysses, Meriones, and Eumelus. [224] Menelaus happened to catch sight of Alexander, and rushed, with all his might, to meet him. Alexander, however, not daring to stay where he was, soon took to flight and escaped. But Hector, having noticed this from a distance, ran forward, along with Deiphobus, and caused Alexander to halt. They reproached him bitterly, and finally, persuaded him to go out between the battle lines, and, when everyone else had grown quiet, challenge Menelaus to single combat. [225]

Both Dictys and Homer confirm that such duel has taken place; however, Homer provides a detailed description of it, which is not the case with the other authors. According to Homer, it was Hector the one, who proposed the duel to his brother Paris, so that he could demonstrate his bravery in front of the man, whose wife he had stolen, and save his own people. According to Homer, Hector told Paris, ‘ *Evil Paris, most fair to look upon, thou that art mad after women, thou beguiler, would that thou hadst ne’er been born and hadst died unwed. Aye, of that were I fain, and it had been better far than that thou shouldest thus be a reproach, and that men should look upon thee in scorn. Verily, methinks, will the long-haired Achaeans laugh aloud, deeming that a prince is our champion because a comely form is his, while there is no strength in his heart nor any valour. […] Didst bring back a comely woman from a distant land, even a daughter of warriors who wield the spear, but to thy father and city and all the people a grievous bane—to thy foes a joy, but to thine own self a hanging down of the head? Wilt thou indeed not abide Menelaus? Thou wouldest learn what manner of warrior he is whose lovely wife thou has t* .’ [226] And Paris replied, ‘ Hector, seeing that thou dost chide me duly, and not beyond what is due […]. But now, if thou wilt have me war and do battle, make the other Trojans to sit down and all the Achaeans, but set ye me in the midst and Menelaus […], to do battle for Helen and all her possessions. And whichsoever of us twain shall win, and prove him the better man, let him duly take all the wealth and the

woman, and bear them to his home. But for you others, do ye swear friendship and oaths of faith with sacrifice. So should ye dwell in deep-soiled Troyland, and let them return to Argos, […], and to Achaea. ’ [227]

After the two brothers fell silent, Hector asked that the Trojans and Achaeans ground their weapons, while he and Menelaus fought between them for Helen and all her treasure. Whichever won and showed himself the better man would take both wealth and woman to his house, but the rest would sign a solemn peace treaty under oath. [228] Menelaus agreed with the duel, and answered back to Hector, ‘ My mind is that Argives and Trojans now be parted, seeing ye have suffered many woes because of my quarrel and Alexander’s beginning thereof. And for whichsoever of us twain death and fate are appointed, let him lie dead; but be ye others parted with all speed. Bring ye two lambs, a white ram and a black ewe, for Earth and Sun, and for Zeus we will bring another; and fetch ye hither the mighty Priam, that he may himself swear an oath with sacrifice, seeing that his sons are over-weening and faithless; lest any by presumptuous act should do violence to the oaths of Zeus. Ever unstable are the hearts of the young; but in whatsoever an old man taketh part, he looketh both before and after, that the issue may be far the best for either sid e . ’ [229]

In the meantime, having brought the sacrificial offerings from the city, the heralds told Priam, ‘ Rise, thou son of Laomedon, the chieftains of the […] Trojans, and of the […] Achaeans, summon thee to go down into the plain, that ye may swear oaths of faith with sacrifice. But Alexander and Menelaus […] will do battle with long spears for the woman’s sake; and whichsoever of the twain shall conquer, him let woman and treasure follow; and we others, swearing friendship and oaths of faith with sacrifice, should then dwell in deep-soiled Troy, but they will depart to Argos, […] and Achae a . ’ [230]

After the whole ceremony was prepared and ready to start, and after Priam’s arrival, with hands and voice advanced to heaven, thus prayed aloud Agamemnon, ‘ Father Zeus, that

rulest from Ida, most glorious, most great, and thou Sun, that beholdest all things and hearest all things, and ye rivers and thou earth, and ye that in the world below take vengeance on men that are done with life, whosoever hath sworn a false oath; be ye witnesses, and watch over the oaths of faith. If Alexander slay Menelaus, then let him keep Helen and all her treasure; and we will depart in our seafaring ships. But if so be fair-haired Menelaus shall slay Alexander, then let the Trojans give back Helen and all her treasure, and pay to the Argives in requital such recompense as beseemeth, even such as shall abide in the minds of men that are yet to be. Howbeit, if Priam and the sons of Priam be not minded to pay recompense unto me, when Alexander falleth, then will I fight on even thereafter, to get me recompense, and will abide here until I find an end of wa r .' [231] After they sacrificed the animals, and drew wine from the bowl into the cups, and oaths were sworn to Zeus, the Trojans and Achaeans prayed together, ' Zeus, most glorious, most great, and ye other immortal gods, which host soever of the twain shall be first to work harm in defiance of the oaths, may their brains be thus poured forth upon the ground even as this wine, theirs and their children's; and may their wives be made slaves to others .' Dardanian Priam spoke then, ' Hearken to me, ye Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans. I verily will go my way back to windy Ilios, since I can in no wise bear to behold with mine eyes my dear son doing battle with Menelaus. ' [232] Hector and Ulysses measured out a space, and then cast lots in a bronze-wrought helmet to know which of the two should first let fly his spear. Meanwhile the warriors of both armies lifted their hands, and prayed, ' Father Zeus, that rulest from Ida, most glorious, most great, whichsoever of the twain it be that brought these troubles upon both peoples, grant that he may die and enter the house of Hades, whereas to us there may come friendship and oaths of faith .' [233]

First Alexander hurled his spear, and smote upon the son of Atreus' shield. Next, Menelaus rushed forward with his spear, and made prayer to Zeus, ' Zeus, our king, grant that I may avenge me on him that was first to do me wrong, even on

goodly Alexander, and subdue thou him beneath my hands; that many a one even of men yet to be may shudder to work evil to his host, that hath shown him friendship .' He poised his spear, and hurled it, and he smote upon Alexander's shield. Through the shield went the spear, forcing its way on through his corselet, and straight on beside his flank the spear shore through his tunic; yet Alexander bent aside, and dodged death. Now the son of Atreus drew his sword, and smote his foe's helmet, but his sword shattered in pieces three, yes, four, and fell from his hand. [234] But soon they were armed with new spears, and the fight was on again. Finally, Alexander fell, wounded in the thigh; and Menelaus, hoping to take complete vengeance and win greatest victory, rushed forward to kill him. [235] Menelaus seized Alexander by his helm with thick crest of horsehair, and began to drag him towards the Achaean lines. Menelaus would have dragged him away, and won glory unspeakable, had the ox-hide thong not broken, with the empty helm coming away in his strong hand. [236] Menelaus sprang back again, eager to slay his foe with spear. However, Alexander was cloaked in mist, and according to Homer, he went home, and left the field. Then, Agamemnon, the king of men, spoke out, ' Hearken to me, ye Trojans and Dardanians and allies. Victory is now of a surety seen to rest with Menelaus […]; do ye therefore give up Argive Helen and the treasure with her, and pay ye in requital such recompense as beseemeth, even such as shall abide in the minds of men that are yet to be .' [237]

According to Dictys, 'Alexander fell, wounded in the thigh; and Menelaus, hoping to take complete vengeance and win greatest glory, rushed forward to kill him. But Pandarus, committing an act of the blackest treachery by shooting his bow from a hidden spot, wounded Menelaus, and caused him to halt. This stirred our men to wrath,' Dictys goes on, 'and they raised a huge cry, feeling cheated because the Trojans had ended the fight in this treacherous way, especially this fight between the two men, who had caused the whole war. During this general confusion, a group of barbarians rushed in, and saved Alexander from danger.' [238] 'At the same time,

Pandarus was taking advantage of our irresolution,' Dictys writes. 'Standing at a distance, he was finding many of our men with his arrows. He continued his slaughtering until Diomedes, stirred by this barbarous action, advanced upon him, and cut him down at close quarters. Thus, Pandarus, who had killed many men in violation of the treaty (that is, the agreement according to which Menelaus and Alexander should fight), paid with his life for his heinous method of fighting. His body was carried from the battle, and duly cremated by Priam's sons; the ashes were given to his companions to take to Lycia for burial in his native soil.' [239]

Hence, Dictys also speaks of a duel, and an agreement or treaty. Homer's version on the treaty is completer and more accurate. According to Homer, the duel ended because Paris left fearfully, whereas, as we will see, Paris actually killed Achilles, the bravest among the Achaeans. Whereas according to Dictys, Paris was wounded, but was saved by Pandarus, who shot his bow at Menelaus, thus ruining the duel. In the second case, neither Paris, nor Menelaus are to blame for having failed the duel, and for having failed to keep their pledge, for neither side betrayed the other. As recounted by Dictys, who had served in this war, this becomes even more credible.

Chapter V

ACHILLES' ANGER

5.1. Achilles' anger and withdrawal from the war

The Achaeans obtained a two-year long truce, in the course of which they debated who should command them. Agamemnon, Achilles, and Palamedes were the three pretenders. Palamedes was a strong rival, but was slain by Ulysses and Diomedes, seemingly with Agamemnon's approval. During this truce, Dares writes, Palamedes continuously boasted openly of his own numerous accomplishments, particularly his tactics on offense, his fortifications of the camp, his regulation of guard duty, his invention of signals and scales, and his training of the army for battle. These things were due to him, and it was therefore not right, he said, for Agamemnon, whom only a few had chosen as leader, to command all those, who had joined the campaign later. All of them had a right to expect a man, who was brilliant and brave in this position. [240] Dictys wrote that Diomedes and Ulysses devised a plot to kill Palamedes. Accordingly, these two, pretending to have found gold in a well, persuaded Palamedes – they wanted, they said, to share the treasure with him – to be the one to descend. He suspected nothing; and so, when no one else was nearby, they let him down by means of a rope, and then, picking up stones which were lying on around, they quickly stoned him to death. Thus,

Palamedes, the best of men and the army's favourite, one whose counsel and courage had never failed, died in a way he ill deserved, treacherously slain by the most unworthy men. There were those, who suspected Agamemnon of having shared in this plot, for Palamedes was very popular with the soldiers, most of whom wanted him as their king, and openly said that he should be made commander-in-chief. [241] Now the Achaeans were on the point of making Achilles commander-in-chief, and this caused Agamemnon to fear he might lose his glorious position. [242] Hence, Achilles was the target of Agamemnon's attack. Actually, Achilles had never voiced the desire to be a commander, but he was the best among the Achaeans, and this is what Agamemnon feared.

The conflict between them was over Briseis, the girl that Achilles had carried off as booty. Dictys and Homer provide a detailed description of such conflict. Thus, Chryses, the priest of Apollo, having learned that his daughter, Astynome, was with Agamemnon, came to the ships, and prayed for the release of his daughter, offering gifts of gold and silver, countless ransom. 'On hearing his plea,' Dictys wrote, 'we all thought that the girl should be returned. Nor should we accept any ransom. We owed this to Chryses, not only because of his personal faithfulness to us, but, what mattered more, because of his office as priest of Apollo.' [243] When Agamemnon saw what was happening, he proceeded to take a stand opposite to that of everyone else. Scowling blackly, and threatening death, he ordered the priest not to return. Accordingly, the old man departed, terrified, and fearing for his life. When the assembly broke up, the leaders approached Agamemnon, one at a time, and taunted him with his manifold wickedness. Because of his love for a captive girl, he had treated his men with contempt, and, what seemed a thing most shameful, had scorned a very powerful god. [244]

Several days later a terrible plague invaded the Achaean army. Calchas, who was the prophet of the Achaeans, said that the wrath of Apollo was the cause of the plague. When Achilles asked what they must do to bring an end to the plague, the

prophet said, ‘Restore the girl!’ Agamemnon, however, when he heard about this, obstinately held to his first decision, and refused to yield in the least. It is uncertain whether his inflexibility was due to his naturally stubborn characters, or to his love for the captive girl. [245]

Agamemnon leapt up, and said, ‘ For certainly I prefer her to Clytemnestra, my wedded wife, since she is not inferior to her, either in form or in stature, or in mind, or in any handiwork. Yet even so will I give her back, if that is better; I would rather the people be safe than perish. But provide me with a prize of honour forthwith, lest I alone of the Argives be without one, since that would not be proper. For you all see this, that my prize goes elsewhere. ’ [246] In answer to him spoke Achilles, ‘ Most glorious son of Atreus, most covetous of all, how shall the great-hearted Achaeans give you a prize? We know nothing of a hoard of wealth in common store, but whatever we took by pillage from the cities has been apportioned, and it is not seemly to gather these things back from the army. But give back the girl to the god, and we Achaeans will recompense you three and fourfold, if ever Zeus grants us to sack the well-walled city of Troy. ’ [247]

Then, in answer to him spoke Agamemnon, ‘ Do not thus, mighty though you are, godlike Achilles, seek to deceive me with your wit; for you will not get by me nor persuade me. Are you willing, so that your yourself may keep your prize, for me to sit here idly in want, while you order me to give her back? No, if the great-hearted Achaeans give me a prize, suiting it to my mind, so that it will be worth just as much—but if they do not, I myself will come and take your prize, or that of Aias, or that of Odysseus I will seize and bear away. ’ [248]

Achilles spoke to Agamemnon, ‘It was not on account of the Trojan spearmen that I came here to fight, since they have done no wrong to me. Never have they driven off my cattle or my horses, nor ever in deep-soiled Phthia, nurse of men, did they lay waste the harvest, for many things lie between us—shadowy mountains and sounding sea. But you, shameless one, we followed, so that you might rejoice, seeking to win

recompense for Menelaus and for yourself, dog-face, from the Trojans. This you disregard, and take no heed of. And now you threaten that you will yourself take my prize away from me, for which I toiled so much, which the sons of the Achaeans gave to me. Never have I prize like yours, whenever the Achaeans sack a well-inhabited citadel of the Trojans. The brunt of furious battle do my hands undertake, but if ever an apportionment comes, your prize is far greater, while small but dear is the reward I take to my ships, when I have worn myself out in the fighting. Now I will go back to Phthia, since it is far better to return home with my beaked ships, nor do I intend while I am here dishonored to pile up riches and wealth for you. ' [249]

Then, the king of men, Agamemnon, answered him, 'Flee then, if your heart urges you; I do not beg you to remain for my sake. With me are others who will honor me, and above all Zeus, the lord of counsel. Most hateful to me are you of all the kings that Zeus nurtures, for always strife is dear to you, and wars and battles. If you are very strong, it was a god, I think, who gave you this gift. Go home with your ships and your companions and lord it over the Myrmidons; for you I care not, nor take heed of your wrath. But I will threaten you thus: as Phoebus Apollo takes from me the daughter of Chryses, her with my ship and my companions I will send back, but I will myself come to your tent and take the fair-cheeked Briseis, your prize, so that you will understand how much mightier I am than you, and another may shrink from declaring himself my equal and likening himself to me to my face .' [250]

But then, Nestor rose to speak, when he saw that Achilles was about to draw his sword, and thrust it into Agamemnon, 'Comrades, great grief has come upon the land of Achaea. Truly would Priam and the sons of Priam rejoice, and the rest of the Trojans would be most glad at heart, were they to hear all this of you two quarrelling, you who are chief among the Danaans in counsel and chief in war. Listen to me, for you are both younger than I. In earlier times I moved among men more

warlike than you, and never did they despise me. Such warriors have I never since seen, nor shall I see, as Peirithous was and Dryas, shepherd of the people, and Caeneus and Exadius and godlike Polyphemus, and Theseus, son of Aegeus, a man like the immortals. Mightiest were these of men reared upon the earth; mightiest were they, and with the mightiest they fought, the mountain-dwelling centaurs, and they destroyed them terribly. With these men I had fellowship, when I came from Pylos, from a distant land far away; for they themselves called me. And I fought on my own; with those men could no one fight of the mortals now upon the earth. Yes, and they listened to my counsel, and obeyed my words. So also should you obey, since to obey is better. Neither do you, mighty though you are, take away the girl, but let her be, as the sons of the Achaeans first gave her to him as a prize; nor do you, son of Peleus, be minded to strive with a king, might against might, for it is no common honour that is the portion of a sceptre-holding king, to whom Zeus gives glory. If you are a stronger fighter, and a goddess mother bore you, yet he is the mightier, since he is king over more. Son of Atreus, check your rage. Indeed, I beg you to let go your anger against Achilles, who is for all the Achaeans a mighty bulwark in evil war.' [251]

Agamemnon disregarded Nestor's words spoken wisely, and insisted on keeping Briseis. 'Although everyone thought his request was mean and dishonorable, nevertheless we were moved to grant it,' Dictys wrote, 'but since no one openly opposed him, he thought that he had our unanimous approval. Accordingly, he ordered attendants to fetch Hippodamia (Briseis); and they were prompt to obey.' [252] 'Go to the hut of Achilles,' he said, 'and take by the hand the fair-cheeked Briseis, and lead her hither; and if he give her not, I will myself go with a larger company and take her; that will be even worse for him.' [253] In Dares' description, 'Briseis was beautiful. She was small and blond, with soft yellow hair. Her eyebrows were joined above her lovely eyes. Her body was well-proportioned. She was charming, friendly, modest, ingenuous, and pious.' [254] Achilles ordered Patroclus to bring

out the girl, and hand her to these men. ‘ With my hands I will not fight for the girl’s sake either with you nor with any other, since you are taking away what you have given. But of all else that is mine by my swift black ship, nothing will you take or carry away against my will. Come, just try, so that these too may know: forthwith will your dark blood flow forth about my spear. ’ [255]

It was not fair for Agamemnon to order that Briseis or Hippodamia be seized. She was a war prize, and granted to Achilles. As such, this act was tantamount to looting, and dishonouring Achilles, for she was the woman he bedded with, and the Achaeans had led her away, and no one among the Achaeans, except for Nestor, had opposed Agamemnon. Achilles’ anger was justifiable, for it was in vain to fight the Achaeans, while there was no guarantee for the booty, which was also the main reason for engaging in a war; in addition, his honour had been infringed. The Achaeans would fight promising division of the spoils, whereas the Trojan king would call on their allies, paying them in gold, as mercenaries.

5.2. Achilles refuses to reconcile

A few days later, Chryses came to the Achaeans to thank them for returning his daughter, Astynome. Because of this kindness, and because he knew that his daughter had been properly treated, he was now bringing her back to Agamemnon to have.

Then, the Achaean leaders held a meeting of the Council, at which Ajax, the son of Telamon, having gone to the centre, delivered a speech. He advised them to send suppliants to Achilles to beg him, on behalf of the officers and common soldiers, to give up his wrath, and as Ajax put it, ‘not because of our need, but merely to honour him as he deserved; we wanted him with us, simply because of his greatness. Furthermore, Ajax implored, Agamemnon should show his willingness to be reconciled with Achilles.’ Then, Agamemnon told how he had already sent many suppliants to

try to reconcile Achilles. There was nothing he would more desire. Accordingly, he asked Ajax and Ulysses to undertake this mission, and go to Achilles on behalf of them all. Ajax and Ulysses promised to do what they could. And Diomedes offered to go along, too. [256]

Thereupon, Agamemnon convened the Achaean Council, and before this Council, he had to swear that he had not touched Briseis, Achilles' slave. Agamemnon ordered two attendants to bring a sacrificial victim. They brought the victim, and held it above the ground while he, drawing his sword, cut it in half; the pieces fell on earth where all could see. It was at this time that Patroclus, who had learned that the Council was meeting, arrived. When Agamemnon had passed through the sacrifice, he swore that he had never violated Hippodamia (Briseis); he had never been prone to lust or sexual pleasures; it was, rather, his inability to control his temper that had caused him countless troubles, and brought him to this pass. Now he wanted to make the following offer: he would give Achilles one of his daughters to marry, whichever he desired, besides a tenth of his entire kingdom, and fifty talents as dowry. [257] According to Homer, Agamemnon promised: seven tripods, that the fire has not touched; and ten talents of gold and twenty gleaming cauldrons; and twelve strong horses, winners in the race that have won prizes by their fleetness; seven women skilled in goodly handiwork, women from Lesbos, that in beauty surpassed all women folk, and amid them would be she whom he then took away, the daughter of Briseus. Agamemnon said, '[To thee Agamemnon] will furthermore swear a great oath, that never went he up into her bed, neither had dalliance with her, as is the appointed way. ' [258] ' All these things shall be ready to thy hand forthwith; and if hereafter it so be the gods grant us to lay waste the great city of Priam, do thou then enter in, what time we Achaeans be dividing the spoil, and heap up thy ship with store of gold and bronze, ' as he may wish to. 'T hou shalt be his son, and he will honour thee even as Orestes […], his son well-beloved. Three daughters has he […], Chrysothemis, and Laodice, and Ophianassa; of these mayest thou lead to the house of Peleus

which one thou wilt, without gifts of wooing […]. And seven well-peopled cities will he give thee, Cardamyle, Enope, and grassy Hire, and sacred Pherae, and Antheia, with deep meadows, and fair Aipeia, and vine-clad Pedasus. All are nigh the sea, on the uttermost borders of sandy Pylos, ' Agamemnon said. ' All this will he bring to pass for thee, if thou but cease from thy wrat h . ' [259] Those at the Council, on hearing this, were amazed at his magnanimity. Patroclus was especially impressed by the offer of so much wealth, and he was also happy that Hippodamia (Briseis) had not been violated. Thus, he returned to Achilles, and told him all that had happened at the Council. [260]

Achilles was pondering Agamemnon's offer, trying to decide what he should do, when Ajax and the other leaders entered his hut. He received them hospitably, and offered them seats. Ajax, having taken the seat that was next to Achilles, began, when the time seemed right, to chide and admonish him. Since they were relatives, he could speak more freely than the others. He blamed Achilles for nursing his wrath longer than many of his friends and most of his relatives. Finally, urging Achilles not to scorn the prayers of the Achaeans, and not to spurn such a marriage, he ended by listing the entire dowry that Agamemnon was offering. [261]

Then, Achilles, in a long speech, began by expounding upon his deeds and accomplishments. He said, ' Twelve cities of men have I laid waste with my ships and by land eleven, I avow, throughout the fertile land of Troy; from out all these I took much spoil and goodly, and all would I ever bring and give to Agamemnon, this son of Atreus; but he staying behind, even beside his swift ships, would take and apportion some small part, but keep the most. Some he gave as prizes to chieftains and kings, and for them they abide untouched; but from me alone of the Achaeans hath he taken and keepeth my wife, the darling of my heart. Let him lie by her side and take his joy. But why must the Argives wage war against the Trojans? *Why hath he gathered and led hither his host, this son of Atreus? Was it not for fair-haired Helen's sake? Do they*

then alone of mortal men love their wives, these sons of Atreus? Nay, for whoso is a true man and sound of mind, loveth his own and cherisheth her, even as I too loved her with all my heart, though she was but the captive of my spear. But now, seeing he hath taken from my arms my prize, and hath deceived me, let him not tempt me that know him well; he shall not persuade m e . ' [262] Achilles said, ' Nay, Odysseus, together with thee and the other princes let him take thought to ward from the ships consuming fire. Verily full much hath he wrought without mine aid; lo, he hath builded a wall and digged a ditch hard by, wide and great, and therein hath he planted stakes; yet even so availeth he not to stay the might of man-slaying Hector. But so long as I was warring amid the Achaeans Hector had no mind to rouse battle far from the wall, but would come only so far as the Scaean gates and the oak-tree; there once he awaited me in single combat and hardly did he escape my onset. But now, seeing I am not minded to battle with goodly Hector, tomorrow will I do sacrifice to Zeus and all the gods, and heap well my ships, when I have launched them on the sea.' [263]

Achilles continued, 'Neither counsel will I devise with him nor any work, for utterly hath he deceived me and sinned against me. Never again shall he beguile me with words; the past is enough for him. Nay, let him go to his ruin in comfort, seeing that Zeus the counselor hath utterly robbed him of his wits. Hateful in my eyes are his gifts, I count them at a hair's worth. Not though he gave me ten times, aye twenty times all that now he hath, and if yet other should be added thereto I care not whence, not though it were all the wealth that got in the Orchomenus, or to Thebes of Egypt, where treasures in greatest store are laid up in men's houses, – Thebes which is a city of an hundred gates wherefrom sally forth through each two hundred warriors with horses and cars; – nay, not though he gave gifts in number as sand and dust; not even so shall Agamemnon any more persuade my soul, until he hath paid the full price of all the despite that stings my heart. And the daughter of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, will I not wed, not though she vied in beauty with golden Aphrodite and in

handiwork were the peer of flashing-eyed Athene: not even so will I wed her; let him choose another of the Achaeans that is of like station with himself and more kingly than I. For if the gods preserve me, and I reach my home, Peleus methinks will thereafter of himself seek me a wife. Many Achaean maidens there be throughout Hellas and Phthia, daughters of chieftains that guard the cities; of these whomsoever I choose shall I make my dear wife. Full often was my proud spirit fain to take me there a wedded wife, a fitting helpmeet, and to have joy of the possessions that the old man Peleus won him. For in my eyes not of like worth with life is even all that wealth that men say Ilios possessed, the well-peopled citadel, of old in time of peace or ever the sons of the Achaeans came, —nay, nor all that the marble threshold of the Archer Phoebus Apollo encloseth in rocky Pytho. For by harrying may cattle be had and goodly sheep, and tripods by the winning and chestnut horses withal; but that the spirit of man should come again when once it hath passed the barrier of his teeth, neither harrying availeth nor winning. For my mother the goddess, silver-footed Thetis, telleth me that twofold fates are bearing me toward the doom of death: if I abide here and war about the city of the Trojans, then lost is my home-return, but my renown shall be imperishable; but if I return home to my dear native land, lost then is my glorious renown, yet shall my life long endure, neither shall the doom of death come soon upon me. ’ [264]

The old Phoenix, fearing as he did for the Achaean fleet, spoke tearfully, ‘H ow can I then, dear child, be left here without thee, alone? It was to thee that the old horseman Peleus sent me on the day when he sent thee to Agamemnon, forth from Phthia, a mere child, knowing naught as yet of evil war, neither of gatherings wherein men wax preeminent. For this cause sent he me to instruct thee in all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds. Wherefore, dear child, I am not minded hereafter to be left alone without thee, nay, not though a god himself should pledge him to strip from me my old age and render me strong in youth. […] Thereafter I fled afar through spacious Hellas, and came to deep-soiled

Phthia, mother of flocks, unto king Peleus; and he received me with a ready heart, and cherished me as a father cherished his only son and well-beloved, that is heir to great possessions; and he made me rich and gave much people to me, and I dwelt on the furthermost border of Phthia, ruling over the Dolopians. [.. .] It were a harder task to save the ships already burning. Nay, come while yet gifts may be had; the Achaeans shall honor thee even as a god. But if without gifts you enter into the battle, the bane of men, thou shall not then be in like honor.' Then in answer to him spoke Achilles, ' Phoenix, old sire, my father, nurtured of Zeus, in no wise have I need of this honor: honored have I been, I deem, by the apportionment of Zeus, which shall be mine amid the beaked ships so long as the breath remains in my breast and my knees are quick.' [265]

Realising that Achilles did not agree to reconcile, Ajax, son of Telamon, turned to Odysseus, and spoke, ' Let us go our way, for the fulfilment of the charge laid on us will not methinks be brought to pass by our coming hither; and it behoveth us with speed to declare the message, though it be no wise good, to the Danaans, that, I ween, now sit waiting therefor. But Achilles hath wrought to fury the proud heart within him, cruel man! neither recketh he of the love of his comrades wherewith we ever honoured him amid the ships above all others . […] A man accepteth recompense from the slayer of his brother, or for his dead son; and the slayer abideth in his own land for the paying of a great price, and the kinsman's heart and proud spirit are restrained by the taking of recompense. But as for thee, the gods have put in thy breast a heart that is obdurate and evil by reason of one only girl; whereas we now offer thee seven, far the best that there be, and many other gifts besides, ' Achilles replied, ' Aias, sprung from Zeus, thou son of Telamon […], all this thou seemest to speak almost after mine own mind; but my heart swelleth with wrath whenso I think of this, how the son of Atreus hath wrought indignity upon me amid the Argives […]. Howbeit do ye go and declare my message, for I will not sooner bethink me of bloody war until wise-hearted Priam's son, even goodly Hector, be come to the

huts and ships of the Myrmidons, as he slays the Argives, and have smirched the ships with fire. ' [266]

When the envoys were now come to the huts of the son of Atreus, the Achaeans stood up. King Agamemnon was the first to ask, 'Come, tell me now, Odysseus,' he said. 'Is he minded to ward off consuming fire from the ships, or said he nay, and doth wrath still possess his proud spirit?' Odysseus answered him, '[Achilles] verily is not minded to quench his wrath, but is filled yet more with fury, and will have none of thee, or of thy gifts.' Diomedes reproached him, and at the same time, comforted the King, saying that, 'Would thou hadst never […] offered [him] countless gifts; haughty is he even of himself, and now hast thou yet far more set him amid haughtinesses. But verily we will let him be; he may depart or he may tarry; hereafter will he fight when the heart in his breast shall bid him .' [267]

Chapter VI

TROJAN ATTACK ON THE ACHAEANS

6.1. The murder of Dolon and of the Thracian King Rhesus

Prior to mounting a general attack against the Achaeans, Hector sent over a scout to make a foray towards the Achaean camp, and find what they were doing, that is, whether they would flee or fight. There was among the Trojans one Dolon, the son of Eumedes, a man rich in gold, rich in bronze, that was ill-favoured to look upon, but withal swift of foot; and he was the only brother among five sisters. He stepped forward to speak to the Trojans and Hector, 'My heart […] urge me,' he said, '[…] to go close to the swift-faring ships and spy out all. But […] swear to me that verily thou wilt give me the horses and the chariot, richly dight with bronze, even them that bear the peerless son of Peleus. And to thee shall I prove no vain scout, neither one to deceive thy hopes. For I will go straight on to the camp, even until I come to the ship of Agamemnon, where, I ween, the chieftains will be holding council, whether to flee or to fight .' [268] Hector swore the oath, and he left not to return.

Odysseus was aware of him, and spoke to Diomedes, ' Yonder, Diomedes, cometh some man from the camp, I know not whether as a spy upon our ships, or with intent to strip one or another of the corpses of the dead .' [269] So, Odysseus pursued him, and reached him, and said, ' Be of good cheer, and let not death be in thy thoughts. But come, tell me this, and declare it truly. Whither dost thou fare thus alone to the ships from the host in the darkness of night, when other mortals are sleeping? Is it with intent to strip one or another of the corpses of the dead? Did Hector send thee forth to the hollow ships to spy out all […]?' With many infatuate hopes did Hector lead my wits astray, who pledged him to give me the single-hooved horses of the lordly son of Peleus, and his chariot richly dight with bronze; and he bade me go through the swift, black night close to the foemen, and spy out whether the swift ships be guarded as of old, or whether by now our foes, subdued

beneath our hands, are planning flight among themselves, and have no mind to watch the night through, being fordone with dread weariness .' [270]

Smiling upon him Odysseus made answer, 'Verily now on great rewards was thy heart set […]. But come tell me this, and declare it truly: where now, as thou camest hither, didst thou leave Hector […]? Where lies his battle-gear, and where his horses? And how are disposed the watches and the sleeping-places of the other Trojans? And what counsel devise they among themselves? ' And Dolon replied, ' Verily now will I frankly tell thee all. Hector with all them that are counsellors is holding council by the tomb of godlike Ilus, away from the turmoil; but as touching the guards […] , no special guard keepeth or watcheth the host. By all the watch-fires of the Trojans verily, they that needs must, lie awake and bid one another keep watch, but the allies […], are sleeping […].' Odysseus still asked, ' How is it now, do they sleep mingled with the horse-taming Trojans, or apart? tell me at large that I may know .' 'Verily now this likewise will I frankly tell thee,' Dolon answered. ' *Towards the sea lie the Carians and the Paeonians, with curved bows, and the Leleges and Caucones, and the goodly Pelasgi. And towards Thymbre fell the lot of the Lycians and the lordly Mysians, and the Phrygians that fight from chariots and the Maeonians, lords of chariots . […] For if ye are fain to enter the throng of the Trojans, lo, here apart be the Thracians, new comers, the outermost of all, and among them their king Rhesus, son of Eïoneus* .' [271] Diomedes turned on him in anger, 'Put no thought of escape in thy heart, even though thou hast brought good tidings. […] But if, subdued beneath my hands, thou lose thy life […],' he spoke and sprang upon him with his sword, and smote him. [272]

So, Odysseus and Diomedes reached the Thracian camp, and discovered the Thracian guards, who, being wearied by their long journey had fallen asleep. After killing these, they entered Rhesus' tent, and slew the king himself. They were, however, afraid to press their luck any further, and so returned to the

ships, taking along Rhesus' chariot and richly caparisoned horses. 'At daybreak they went to all of our leaders,' Dictys wrote, 'and told about their successful adventure. The consensus was that the death of Rhesus would anger the Thracians, and that they would make an attack. Therefore, everyone was ordered to stand by his arms, and be ready for battle.' [273]

'We had not long to wait,' Dictys writes, 'for the Thracians, when they awoke, discovered that their king had been foully slain within his tent, and saw the tell-tale traces the stolen chariot had left. Immediately, undisciplined and disorganized bands of men began rushing toward the ships. As soon as our men caught sight of the Thracians,' Dictys wrote, 'they advanced, following their leader's commands. […] And thus, they slaughtered them, scattered and leaderless; no one survived. […] The only Thracians still alive were those, who had been left to guard the camp. When they saw our men advancing, they were terrified and, abandoning everything, fled to the walls for safety. Our men moved in from all sides, and seized the armor, horses, and royal wealth that fate had kindly left us. Thereupon, with Rhesus and his Thracians completely destroyed, our forces returned to the ships, victoriously laden with booty.' [274] So, the entire Thracian army, which was the building-up strength for Troy, was routed out because of negligence, and did not join forces with the Trojans against the Achaeans. Such great ally of the Trojans, were defeated before entering the war.

6.2. The Battle to put fire to the Achaean fleet

The decision had been taken by the Trojans that, for the Achaeans to be beaten, their bases, where they received their supplies and lived, namely their ships, had to be destroyed. All Hector's military strength focused on this point, hence, the attack against the ships, and this was also one of the fiercest battles of this war. The Achaeans had built a wall and dug a moat to defend the ships and their tents. For the ships to be set aflame, the trench had to be crossed, and the wall or the gates

had to be shattered; therefore, the Trojan attack was precisely at this spot. Polydamas, among the few who dared to give advices and object Hector, drew near to him, and spoke, saying, '[…] I t is but folly that we seek to drive across the trench our swift horses; hard in sooth is it to cross, for sharp stakes are set in it, and close anigh them is the wall of the Achaeans. There is it no wise possible for charioteers to descend and fight; for the space is narrow, and then methinks shall we suffer hurt . […] But come, even as I shall bid, let us all obey. As for the horses, let the squires hold them back by the trench, but let us on foot, arrayed in our armour, follow all in one throng after Hector; and the Achaeans will not withstand us, if so be the bonds of destruction are made fast upon them. ' [275] Hector approved of what Polydamas said, and leapt from his chariot fully armed. The rest of the Trojans, seeing him on foot, abandoned their chariots and swiftly followed.

The Trojans and their allies arrayed themselves in five companies. Some went with Hector and peerless Polydamas, even they that were most in number and bravest, and that were most fain to break through the wall and fight by the hollow ships, and with them followed Cebriones as the third; for by his chariot had Hector left another man, weaker than Cebriones. The second company was led by Paris and Alcathous and Agenor, and the third by Helenus and godlike Deïphobus – sons twain of Priam; and a third was with them, the warrior Asius, — Asius son of Hyrtacus, whom his horses tawny and great had borne from Arisbe, from the river Selleïs. And of the fourth company the valiant son of Anchises was leader, even Aeneas, and with him were Antenor's two sons, Archelochus and Acamas, well skilled in all manner of fighting. And Sarpedon led the glorious allies, and he chose as his comrades Glaucus and warlike Asteropaeus, for these seemed to him to be the bravest beyond all others after his own self, but he was pre-eminent even amid all . [276]

Everywhere about the wall of stone rose the wondrous-blazing fire, for the Achaeans, albeit in sore distress, defended their

ships perforce. Then, the son of Peirithous, mighty Polypoetes, cast with his spear and smote Damasus through the helmet with cheek pieces of bronze. And thereafter Polypoetes slew Pylon and Ormenus. And Leonteus smote Hippomachus, son of Antimachus, with a cast of his spear, striking him upon the girdle, and then, smote Antiphates; and thereafter he brought down Menon, Iamenus, and Orestes. While they were stripping from these their shining arms, meanwhile the youths that followed with Polydamas and Hector (even they that were most in number and bravest, and that most were fain to break the wall and burn the ships with fire), these still tarried in doubt, as they stood by the trench. For a bird had come upon them, as they were eager to cross over, an eagle of lofty flight, skirting the host on the left, and in its talons it bore a blood-red, monstrous snake, still alive as if struggling, nor was it yet forgetful of combat, it writhed backward, and smote him that held it on the breast beside the neck, till the eagle, stung with pain, cast it from him to the ground, and let it fall in the midst of the throng, and himself with a loud cry sped away down the blasts of the wind. And the Trojans shuddered when they saw the writhing snake lying in the midst of them, and Polydamas again drew near, and spoke to Hector, ‘ Let us not go forward to fight with the Danaans for the ships. For thus, methinks, will the issue be, seeing that in sooth this bird has come upon the Trojans, as they were eager to cross over, an eagle of lofty flight, skirting the host on the left, bearing in his talons a blood-red, monstrous snake, still living, yet straightway let it fall before he reached his own nest, neither finished he his course, to bring and give it to his little ones – even so shall we, though we break the gates and the wall of the Achaeans by our great might, and the Achaeans give way, come back over the selfsame road from the ships in disarray .’ [277] Hector answered , ‘ One omen is best, to fight for one’s country. Wherefore dost thou fear war and battle? For if the rest of us be slain one and all at the ships of the Argives, yet is there no fear that thou shouldest perish, – for thy heart is – not staunch in fight nor warlike. Howbeit, if thou shalt hold aloof from battle, or shalt beguile with thy words an other, and turn him

from war, forthwith smitten by my spear shalt thou lose thy life .' [278]

So, they carried on the fight, seeking to shatter the wall, but the Danaans would not give way, masking the holes with ox-hide screens, pelting the foe as they neared the wall. All the gates were barred, and the Trojans were shattering them, so as to break them open, and go through. Sarpedon led the Lycians. Sarpedon and Glaucus, his best friend, led the battle, but Teucer wounded Glaucus, which forced him from the fight. Though Sarpedon grieved at Glaucus' wound when he knew of it, he stuck to his task. Then, Sarpedon's huge hands pulled at the battlement till a length gave way, laying bare the walkway, making a wide breach. Now Ajax and Teucer countered him together, Teucer striking him with his arrow on the belt that ran across his chest to hold his round shield. Then, Sarpedon wheeled about, and called to the Lycians, '[…] Wherefore are ye thus slack in furious valour? Hard is it for me […], alone to breach the wall, and make a path to the ships.' So evenly was strained their war and battle, until, Homer wrote, Zeus vouchsafed the glory of victory to Hector, son of Priam, that was first to leap within the wall of the Achaeans. Now Hector uttered a piercing shout, calling aloud to the Trojans, 'Rouse you […] Trojans, break the wall of the Argives, and fling among the ships wondrous-blazing fire.' [279] Then, glorious Hector leapt within, Homer wrote, his face like sudden night. None that met him could have held him back, none save the gods, when once he leapt within the gates. And he wheeled him about in the throng, and called to the Trojans to climb over the wall; and they hearkened to his urging. Forthwith some clomb over the wall, and others poured in by the strong-built gate, and the Danaans were driven in rout among the hollow ships, and a ceaseless din arose . [280]

As he was talking to Nestor, Agamemnon said, ' **The well-built wall hath availed not, nor in any wise the trench** (whereat the Danaans labored sore, and hoped in their hearts that it would be an unbreakable bulwark for their ships and for themselves). Nay, come, even as I shall bid, let us obey,' he

said. ‘Let us drag down the ships that are drawn up in the first line hard by the sea, […] till immortal night shall come. […] Better it is if one fleeth from ruin and escapeth, than if he be taken.’ Odysseus, angered at this, glared at Agamemnon, ‘Son of Atreus, what a word hath escaped the barrier of thy teeth! […] But now have I altogether scorn of thy wits, that thou speakest thus, seeing thou biddest us, when war and battle are afoot, draw down our well-benched ships to the sea, that so even more than before the Trojans may have their desire, they that be victors even now, and that on us utter destruction may fall. For the Achaeans will not maintain their fight once the ships are drawn down to the sea, but will ever be looking away, and will withdraw them from battle. Then will thy counsel prove our bane. ’ To him then made answer, Agamemnon, ‘Odysseus, in good sooth thou hast stung my heart with harsh reproof; yet I urge not that against their will the sons of the Achaeans should drag the well-benched ships down to the sea .’ [281]

Aias, the son of Telamon, with a force consisting of his own men and some of the army of Achilles, made an attack against Phrygia, capturing cities and causing general destruction. Within a few days, he returned to camp, victorious laden with booty. [282] When Aias, the son of Telamon, learned where Hector was at the ships, he presented himself at this spot, dressed in his marvellous armour. **At Aias did Hector first cast his spear,** but it bounced back, and missed the target. Hector waxed wroth for that the swift shaft had flown vainly from his hand, and back he shrank into the throng of his comrades. But thereupon as he drew back, Telamonian Aias picked up one of the boulders, and smote him on the chest over the shield-rim, hard by the neck, and set him whirling like a top with the blow. So fell Hector forthwith to the ground in the dust. Then with loud shouts the sons of Achaea ran up, hoping to drag him off, and they hurled their spears thick and fast at the Trojans, but no one availed to wound the Trojan leader further, for the bravest stood forth to guard him, even princes Polydamas, and Aeneas, and Agenor, and Sarpedon, leader of the Lycians, and peerless Glaucus, and the rest was

no man unheedful of him, but before him they held their round shields; and his comrades lifted him up in their arms and bare him forth from the toil of war until he came to the swift horses that stood waiting for him at the rear of the battle and the conflict. When the Argives saw Hector withdrawing, they leapt yet the more upon the Trojans, and bethought them of battle. [283]

After he wounded Hector, who was rescued out of the battle for the moment, Aias cast his spear at Polydamas, even as he was drawing back. Polydamas himself escaped black fate, springing to one side; but Archelocus, son of Antenor, received the spear. He knew who the warrior was, and sorrow seized the hearts of the Trojans. Then, Acamas, as he bestrode his brother, smote with a thrust of his spear the Boeotian Promachus, who was seeking to drag the body from beneath him by the feet. Acamas cried aloud, '[…] To the end that the blood-price of my brother be not long unpaid. Aye, and for this reason doth a man pray that a kinsman be left him in his halls, to be a warder off of ruin.' After he killed one of Antenor's sons, Aias smote Hyrtius, the son of Gyrtius, brave leader of the Mysians. Antilochus stripped the spoils from Phalce and Mermerus, and Meriones slew Morys and Hippotion, and Teucer laid low Prothoön and Periphetes. [284] Accompanied by Diomedes, Idomeneus, and the other Ajax, he pursued the Trojans, who fled pell-mell in terror. [285]

Thus, the arrival of Ajax caused the fortunes of war to change. Dictys wrote, 'When evening came, and the signal was given for retreat, our men returned to the ships, rejoicing in the victory. Then, Agamemnon gave a dinner in honour of Ajax, at which time he praised this hero most highly, and gave him beautiful gifts. Our other leaders, too, praised the courage of Ajax. No one was silent. They told of his valorous deeds, how he had captured and plundered many Phrygian cities, and how he had fought with Hector at the very ships, a battle to be remembered, and freed the ships from fire. There was no one, who doubted that, at that time, because of his many excellent and glorious deeds, all of our hopes for a successful campaign

rested with him. Within a short time, Epeus repaired the two ships that had caught fire; only their prows had been destroyed.' [286] This victory gave the Achaeans certainty that the Trojans would not attack their ships anymore.

6.3. Patroclus takes the field and kills Sarpedon

Hector was again back to the battle, and laid low Stichius and Arcesilaus, the one a leader of the Boeotians, and the other a trusty comrade of Menestheus; and Aeneas slew Medon and Iasus. Medon was a bastard son of Oïleus, and brother to Aias the lesser, and came from Phylace, not his native land. Hector shouted aloud, and called to the Trojans, ' Speed ye against the ships, and let be the blood-stained spoils. Whomsoever I shall mark holding aloof from the ships on the further side, on the very spot shall I devise his death, nor shall his kinsmen and kinswomen give him his due meed of fire in death, but the dogs shall rend him in front of our city .' The Achaeans firmly abode the oncoming of the Trojans. Hector made straight for Aias. The two were labouring in the toil of war about the same ship, nor might Aias thrust Hector in back, now that a god had brought him nigh, nor might Hector drive back Ajax from the ship. Then, Aias cast his spear and smite upon the breast Caletor, son of Clytius, as he was bearing fire against the ship; and he fell with a thud, and the torch dropped from out his hand. [287]

Hector hurled at Aias with his spear; him he missed, but smote Lycophron, a squire of Aias from Cythera, who dwelt with him, for that he had slain a man among the Cytheraians. Him Hector smote upon the head above the ear with the sharp bronze, […] and backward in the dust he fell to the ground from off the stern of the ship, and his limbs were loosed. [288] Then, Teucer, Hector's nephew from his sister Hesione, out of revenge, drew forth an arrow for his uncle, and would have made him cease from battle by the ships of the Achaeans, had he but smitten him while he was showing his prowess, and taken away his life. However, his arrow was turned aside, and the bow fell from his hand. But when Hector saw that Teucer's shafts had been brought to naught, to the men he called with a

loud shout, ‘ Nay, fight ye at the ships in close throngs, and if so be any of you, smitten by dart or thrust, shall meet death and fate, let him lie in death. No unseemly thing is it for him to die while fighting for his country. Nay, but his wife is safe and his children after him .’ And Aias again, over against him called to his comrades, ‘Shame on you, Argives, now is it sure that we must either perish utterly, or find deliverance by thrusting back the peril from the ships. Think ye haply that if Hector […] take the ships, ye shall come afoot each man of you to his own native land? Hear ye not Hector urging on all his host in his fury to burn the ships? […] Better is it once for all either to die or live.’ [289]

Dares wrote, ‘immediately upon meeting Ajax, Hector remembered that they were related: Ajax’ mother was Priam’s sister Hesione. Therefore, he commanded the Trojans to stop setting fire to the ships. And then the two men gave gifts to each other, and departed in friendship.’ [290] Actually, Hesione was Ajax’ stepmother, for she had given birth to Teucer, Ajax’ brother. It is common knowledge that Hector countered Ajax, and both Homer and Dictys give an account of this, with one saying that a duel took place, which resulted in reconciliation and gifts, and the other maintaining that they got into a fight on the ships, in which Hector came out victorious, and some ships were set aflame.

Hector caught the ship of Protesilaus, and set it on fire. When Achilles saw the ship of Protesilaus burning, he sent out Patroclus with the Myrmidons. [291] Achilles was still angry, and did not agree to take the field. Instead, he sent Patroclus, with his own armour. To him Achilles spoke, ‘The girl that the sons of the Achaeans chose out for me as a prize, and that I won with my spear, when I had laid waste a well-walled city, her hath Lord Agamemnon taken back from my arms, […] as though I were some alien that had no rights. Howbeit these things will we let be, as past and done. In no wise, meseems, was I to be filled with ceaseless wrath at heart; yet verily I deemed that I should not make an end of mine anger, until the hour when unto mine own ships should come the war-cry and

the battle. But come,' he told Patroclus, ' do thou put upon thy shoulders my glorious armour, and lead forth the war-loving Myrmidons to the fight, if in good sooth the dark cloud of the Trojans lieth encompassed the ships mightily, and those others abide with naught to support them but the shore of the sea, having but scant space of land still left them, even the Argives; while the whole city of the Trojans hath come forth against them fearlessly, for they see not the front of my helm shining hard at hand . […] neither as yet have I heard the voice of the son of Atreus, shouting from his hated head; nay, it is the voice of man-slaying Hector that breaketh about me, as he calleth to the Trojans , and they […] vanquish the Achaeans in battle. Yet even so, Patroclus, in warding destruction from the ships fall thou upon them mightily, lest verily they burn the ships with blazing fire. […]. Howbeit do thou hearken, that I may put in thy mind the sum of my counsel, to the end that thou mayest win me great recompense and glory at the hands of all the Danaans, and that they send back that beauteous girl, and therewithal give glorious gifts. When thou hast driven them from the ships, come back, and if the loud-thundering lord of Hera grant thee to win glory, be not thou fain apart from me to war against the war-loving Trojans: thou wilt lessen mine honour .' [292] After Achilles helped him clad his gleaming and ornate armour, and gave Patroclus instructions and his charioteer Automedon, as well as his two horses Xanthus and Balos, and chose the commanders, he gave the order for war.

Standing in the midst of the courtyard, Achilles looked up to heaven, and prayed to Zeus the Thunderer, ' *Zeus, thou king, Dodonaean, Pelasgian, thou that dwellest afar, ruling over wintry Dodona, – and about thee dwell the Selli, thine interpreters, men with unwashen feet that couch on the ground. Aforetime verily thou didst hear my word, when I prayed: me thou didst honour, and didst mightily smite the host of the Achaeans; even so now also fulfill thou for me this my desire. Myself verily will I abide in the gathering of the ships, but my comrade am I sending forth amid the host of the Myrmidons to war: with him do thou send forth glory, O Zeus,*

whose voice is borne afar, and make bold the heart in his breast, to the end that Hector, too, may know whether even alone my squire hath skill to fight [...]. But when away from the ships he hath driven war and the din of war, thea all-unscathed let him come back to the swift ships with all his arms, and his comrades that fight in close combat .' [293]

Patroclus took command of the Myrmidons, and called to them all with a loud shout, 'Myrmidons, ye comrades of Achilles, […] be men, my friends, and bethink you of furious valour, to the end that we may win honour for the son of Peleus, that is far the best of the Argives […]; and that the son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon, may know his blindness in that he honored not at all the best of the Achaeans.' [294] When the Trojans saw the valiant son of Menoetius, himself shining in his armour, the heart of each man was stirred, and their battalions were shaken, for they deemed that by the ships the swift-footed son of Peleus had cast aside his wrath […], and each man gazed about to see how he might escape utter destruction. [295] Later on, by the stern of the ship of Protesilaus, Patroclus smote Pyraechmes, that had led his Paeonians, lords of chariots, out of Amydon, from the wide-flowing Axius. Him he smote on the right shoulder, and backward in the dust Pyraechmes fell with a groan. From out the ships then he drove them, and quenched the blazing fire. And half-burnt the ship was left there, but the Trojans were driven in rout with a wondrous din. [296]

The Trojans took to the retreat in face of the attack led by Patroclus, who smite Thrasymelus, that was the valiant squire of Sarpedon; him he smote on the lower belly, and loosed his limbs. But Sarpedon missed Patroclus with his spear. Then again Sarpedon missed with his spear, and over the left shoulder of Patroclus went the point of the spear and smote him not. But Patroclus in turn rushed on with the bronze, and not in vain did the shaft speed from his hand, but smote Sarpedon where the midriff is set close about the throbbing heart. Even so beneath Patroclus did the leader of the Lycian shieldmen struggle in death; and he called by name his dear

comrade , ‘Glaucus, […] First fare thou up and down everywhere, and urge on the leaders of the Lycians to fight for Sarpedon, and thereafter thyself do battle with the bronze in my defence. For to thee even in time to come shall I be a reproach and a hanging of the head, all thy days continually, if so be the Achaeans shall spoil me of my armour, now that I am fallen amid the gathering of the ships. Nay, hold thy ground valiantly, and urge on all the host .’ Even as he thus spoke the end of death enfolded him, his eyes alike. But upon Glaucus came dread grief as he heard the voice of Sarpedon. Distressed by the arrow-wound that Teucer had dealt him, first fared Glaucus up and down everywhere and urged on the leaders of the Lycians to fight for Sarpedon, and thereafter he went after Aeneas, and after Hector. And he came up to him and spoke winged words, saying, ‘ Hector, now in good sooth art thou utterly forgetful of the allies, that for thy sake far from their friends and their native land are wasting their lives away, yet thou carest not to aid them. Low lies Sarpedon, leader of the Lycian shieldmen, he that guarded Lycia by his judgments and his might. Him hath brazen Ares laid low beneath the spear of Patroclus. Nay, friends, take your stand beside him, and have indignation in heart, lest the Myrmidons strip him of his armour and work shame upon his corpse, being wroth for the sake of all the Danaans that have perished, whom we slew with our spears at the swift ships .’ [297] Sarpedon was ever the stay of their city, albeit he was a stranger from afar; for much people followed with him, and among them he was himself pre-eminent in fight. And they made straight for the Danaans full eagerly, and Hector led them, in wrath for Sarpedon’s sake . Meanwhile Patroclus called on his friends, ‘ Nay, let us seek to take him, and work shame upon his body, and strip the armour from his shoulders .’ [298] Then, when on both sides they had made strong their battalions, the Trojans and Lycians, and the Myrmidons and Achaeans, they joined battle to fight for the body of him that was fallen in death, with terrible shouting . [299] Sarpedon was utterly enwrapped with darts and blood and dust, from his head to the very soles of his feet. Hector leapt upon his car, and calling on the Trojans, led the

rout. Then, the valiant Lycians abode not, but were driven in rout one and all, when they saw their king smitten to the heart, lying in the gathering of the dead. But from the shoulders of Sarpedon the Achaeans stripped his shining harness of bronze, and this the valiant son of Menoetius gave to his comrades to bear to the hollow ships. [300]

6.4 Hector kills Patroclus

Meanwhile Patroclus pressed after the Trojans, and did not observe the word of Achilles. Adrastus first, and Autonous, and Echeclus, and Perimus, son of Megas, and Epistor, and Melanippus, and thereafter Elasus, and Mulius, and Pylartes: these he slew. Meanwhile Hector at the Scaean Gate was staying his horses, for he was divided in mind, whether he should drive again into the turmoil and do battle, or should call to the host to gather them within the wall. Hector gave command to lash his horses into the battle, and drove his horses against Patroclus, who leapt from his chariot to the ground with a spear in his left hand, while with the other he grasped a stone, shining and jagged. He hurled it, and smote the charioteer of Hector, even Cebriones, a bastard son of Priam, and killed him. Then, Patroclus leapt upon the Trojans, crying a terrible cry, and slew nine men, but his helmet fell from his head. Then blindness seized Patroclus' mind, and his limbs were loosed beneath him, and he stood in a daze; and from behind him from close at hand a Dardanian smote him upon the back between the shoulders with a cast of his sharp spear, even Panthous' son, Euphorbus, that excelled all men of his years in casting the spear, and in horsemanship, and in speed of foot. But Patroclus, overcome by the stroke of the god and by Euphorbus' spear, drew back into the throng of his Myrmidons, avoiding fate. But Hector, when he beheld Patroclus smitten with the sharp bronze, came nigh him through the ranks, and smote him with a thrust of his spear in the nethermost belly. Patroclus fell with a thud. Hector shouted to him, ' Patroclus, thou thoughtest, I ween, that thou wouldest sack our city, and from the women of Troy wouldest take the

day of freedom, and bear them in thy ships to thy dear native land .' Patroclus answered him, 'For this time, Hector, boast thou mightily; for to thee have Zeus, the son of Cronos, and Apollo, vouchsafed victory, they that subdued me full easily, for of themselves they took the harness from my shoulders. But if twenty such as thou had faced me, here would all have perished, slain by my spear. Nay, it was […] Fate and the son of Leto that slew me, and of men Euphorbus, while thou art the third in my slaying. […] Verily thou shalt not thyself be long in life, but even now doth death stand hard by thee, and mighty fate, that thou be slain beneath the hands of Achilles.' [301]

When Ajax, who was fighting in another part of the field, saw what was happening, he came up quickly; using his spear, he drove off Hector, who was already beginning to drag the body away. Meanwhile Menelaus and the other Ajax were pouncing upon Euphorbus, and making him pay with his life for having been the cause of Patroclus' death. [302] The soul of Hector was darkly clouded with dread sorrow, when he saw Euphorbus' corpse lying on the ground in a pool of blood, and Menelaus stripping off his armour. Then strode he forth amid the foremost fighters, harnessed in flaming bronze, crying a shrill cry, that none may quench. The Trojans came on to Patroclus' body, and Hector led them. Menelaus retreated, out of fear for his life. Now Hector, when he had stripped from Patroclus his armour, sought to hale him away that he might cut the head off his shoulders with the sharp bronze, and drag off the corpse, and give it to the dogs of Troy. But Aias drew near, bearing his shield, that was like a city wall. Then, Hector gave ground backward into the throng of his comrades, and leapt upon his chariot, and gave the armour to his men to bear to the city, to be a great glory unto him. But Aias covered Patroclus' body round about with his broad shield, and protected him. [303] The Achaeans were able to save his body, but not Achilles' armour.

Later on, Glaucus, son of Hippolochus and dearest friend to Lycian Sarpedon, with an angry glance from beneath his brows, chid Hector for withdrawing, saying, ' Wherefore now, if any one of the men of Lycia will hearken to me, homeward

will we go, and for Troy shall utter destruction be made plain. Ah, that there were now in the Trojans dauntless courage, that knoweth naught of fear […], then forthwith should we hale Patroclus into Ilios. […] Then would the Argives give back the goodly armour of Sarpedon, and we should bring his body into Ilios. […] But thou hadst not the courage to stand before great-hearted Aias, facing him eye to eye amid the battle-cry of the foemen, nor to do battle against him, seeing he is a better man than thou .' Then Hector spoke to him, 'Glaucus, wherefore hast thou? […] Now have I altogether scorn of thy wits, that thou speakest thus, seeing thou sayest I stood not to face mighty Aias .' So saying, he shouted aloud, and called to the warriors, 'Ye Trojans, and Lycians, and Dardanian s that fight in close combat, be men, my friends, and bethink you of furious valour, until I put upon me the armour of peerless Achilles, the goodly armour that I stripped from the mighty Patroclus, when I slew him. ' [304]

As yet Achilles knew nothing of Patroclus' death, for the fighting was under the walls of Troy far from the swift ships. Menelaus sent Antilochus to Achilles. He drew nigh unto Achilles, shedding hot tears, and spoke the grievous tidings, 'Woe is me,' he shouted, 'thou son of wise-hearted Peleus, full grievous is the tidings thou must hear. […] Low lies Patroclus.' [305] So spoke he, and a black cloud of grief enwrapped Achille s and with both his hands he took the dark dust and strewed it over his head and defiled his fair face, and on his fragrant tunic the black ashes fell . [306] He tore and marred his hair. Then, mightily moved, Achilles said, ' Straightway may I die, seeing I was not to bear aid to my comrade at his slaying. Far, far from his own land hath he fallen, and had need of me to be a warder off of ruin . Now therefore, seeing I return not to my dear native land, neither proved anywise a light of deliverance to Patroclus nor to my other comrades, those many that have been slain by goodly Hector, but abide here by the ships .' [307]

Dictys wrote, 'Our leaders went to Achilles. He was showing every sign of unbearable grief, for his face was distorted with

weeping as he lay stretched out on the ground or over the body. […] All of our leaders bewailed the death of Patroclus and, even more, the terrible way he had been mutilated; *this was the first instance of such a shameful and inhuman act, a thing that the Greek [Achaeans] had never practiced before.* Thus, our leaders with many prayers, consoling Achilles in every way, finally persuaded him to arise. Then, having washed the body of Patroclus, they covered it with a robe, being especially careful to hide the wounds, which to behold caused them to weep.' [308]

Briseis wailed in her lament, 'Patroclus, dearest to my hapless heart, alive I left thee when I went from the hut, and now I find thee dead, thou leader of hosts, as I return thereto: thus for me doth evil ever follow hard on evil . But thou, when […] Achilles slew my husband, and waste the city of godlike Mynes, wouldst not even suffer me to weep, but saidest that thou wouldst make me the wedded wife of Achilles, and that he would bear me in his ships to Phthia, and make me a marriage-feast among the Myrmidons. Wherefore I wail for thee in thy death and know no ceasing, for thou wast ever kind .' So spoke she wailing, and thereto the women added their laments; Patroclus indeed they mourned, but therewithal each one her own sorrows. But around Achilles gathered the elders of the Achaeans, beseeching him that he would eat; but he refused them, moaning the while. [309]

The next day, the Achaeans 'slew great numbers; among whom were the rulers of Larissa, Pylaeus, and Hippothous, and the ruler of Sestos, Asius, the son of Hyrtacus. On the same day, Diomedes took twelve captives; and Ajax, too, forty. Two of the captives, Pisus and Evander, were sons of Priam. As for the casualties on our side in this battle, Guneus, the King of Cyphians, was slain, and my leader, Idomeneus, was wounded,' Dictys wrote. 'When the Trojans had reached the safety of their walls, and shut the gates, we were no longer able to pursue. […] We stripped the enemy corpses of their armor, and dumped them into the river. Then, we gave all the

captives to Achilles, one after the other, as we had captured them.' [310]

Chapter VII

ACHILLES MURDERS HECTOR

7.1. Achilles reconciles with Agamemnon and enters the war

Achilles asked for the Achaeans to convene in the Assembly, and when they had gathered together, he arose among them

and said, ‘ Son of Atreus, was this then the better for us twain, for thee and for me, what time with grief at heart we raged in soul-devouring strife for the sake of a girl? Would that amid the ships Artemis had slain her with an arrow on the day when I took her from out the spoil after I had laid waste Lyrnessus! Then had not so many Achaeans bitten the vast earth with their teeth beneath the hands of the foemen, by reason of the fierceness of my wrath. For Hector and the Trojans was this the better, but long shall the Achaeans, methinks, remember the strife betwixt me and thee. Howbeit, these things will we let be as past and done, for all our pain, curbing the heart in our breasts because we must. Now verily make I my wrath to cease: it beseemeth me not to be wroth for ever unrelentingly ,’ he went on. ‘C ome, rouse thou speedily to battle the long-haired Achaeans, to the end that I may go forth agains t the Trojans.’ [311] To Achilles’ repentance and regret Agamemnon now had his say, ‘My friends, Danaan warriors,’ he said. ‘To the son of Peleus will I declare my mind, but do ye other Argives give heed, and mark well my words each man of you. Full often have the Achaeans spoken unto me this word, and were ever fain to chide me; howbeit it is not I that am at fault, but Zeus […] cast upon my soul fierce blindness on that day. […] Fain am I to make amends and to give requital past counting. Nay, rouse thee for battle, and rouse withal the rest of thy people. Gifts am I here ready to offer thee, even all that goodly Odysseus promised thee yesternight, when he had come to thy hut .’ [312] Then Achilles answered him, and said, ‘ Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, king of men, for the gifts, to give them if thou wilt, as is but seemly, or to withhold them, rests with thee . […] It beseemeth not to dally here in talk, neither to make delay, for yet is a great work undone .’ [313]

Then, Odysseus stepped in, and advised Achilles, saying, ‘ Urge not on this wise the sons of the Achaeans to go fasting against Ilios to do battle with the men of Troy, since not for a short space shall the battle last when once the ranks of men are met and the god breathes might into either host. But bid thou the Achaeans by their swift ships to taste of food and wine;

since therein is courage and strength .' And Odysseus went on, ' And as touching the gifts, let Agamemnon, king of men, bring them forth into the midst of the place of gathering, that all the Achaeans may behold them with their eyes, and thou be made glad at heart. And let him rise up in the midst of the Argives and swear to thee an oath, that never hath he gone up into the woman's bed neither had dalliance with her , as is the appointed way […]; and let the heart in thine own breast be open to appeasement. Thereafter let him make amends to thee in his hut with a feast full rich, that thou mayest have nothing lacking of thy due. Son of Atreus, towards others also shalt thou be more righteous hereafter; for in no wise is it blame for a king to make amends to another, if so be he wax wroth without a cause .' King Agamemnon spoke again, ' Glad am I, son of Laertes, to hear thy words, for duly hast thou set forth the whole matter, an told the tale thereof. This oath am I ready to swear, and my heart biddeth me thereto, nor shall I forswear myself before the god. But let Achilles abide here the while, eager though he be for war, and abide all ye others together, until the gifts be brought from my hut, and we make oaths of faith with sacrifice. And to thine own self do I thus give charge and commandment: Choose thee young men, princes of the host of the Achaeans, and bear from my ship the gifts even all that we promised yesternight to give Achilles, and bring the women withal. And let Talthybius forthwith make me ready a boar in the midst of the wide camp of the Achaeans, to sacrifice to Zeus and to the Sun .' [314]

Achilles did not want to waste time on such formal ceremonies. He was eager to immediately go into battle against the Trojans. But Achilles still demurred, ' Most glorious son of Atreus, Agamemnon, king of men, at some other time were it e'en better that ye be busied thus, when haply there shall come between some pause in war, and the fury in my breast be not so great . Now are they lying mangled, they that Hector, son of Priam, slew, […]. Verily for mine own part would I even now bid the sons of the Achaeans do battle fasting and unfed, and at set of sun make them ready a mighty meal, when we shall have avenged the shame .'

Odysseus overruled him, and said, ‘ O Achilles, son of Peleus, far the mightiest of the Achaeans, better art thou than I and mightier not a little with the spear, howbeit in counsel might I surpass thee by far, seeing I am the elder-born and know the more […]. But with the belly may it nowise be that the Achaeans should mourn a corpse […]. A ll they that are left alive from hateful war must needs bethink them of drink and of food, to the end that yet the more we may fight with the foemen ever incessantly, clothed about with stubborn bronze .’ [315]

Then straightway in the one moment was the word said, and the deed fulfilled. Seven tripods bare they from the hut, even as he promised him, and twenty gleaming cauldrons and twelve horses; and forth they speedily led women skilled in goodly handiwork; seven they were, and the eighth was Briseis . Odysseus weighed out ten talents of gold in all, and led the way and with him the other youths of the Achaeans bare the gifts. As he was about to cut the boar’s throat, Agamemnon prayed, ‘ Be Zeus my witness first, highest and best of gods, and Earth and Sun, and the Erinyes, that under earth take vengeance on men, whosoever hath sworn a false oath, that never laid I hand upon the girl Briseis either by way of a lover’s embrace or anywise else, but she ever abode untouched in my huts. And if aught of this oath be false, may the gods give me woes full many, even all that they are wont to give to him whoso sinneth against them in his swearing .’ [316] The Assembly broke up, and the troops quickly scattered to their ships, while the great-hearted Myrmidons busied themselves about the gifts, and led the women to Achilles’ huts.

7.2. The duel between Achilles and Hector and the death of Hector

Andromache, Hector’s wife, had a dream, which forbade Hector to enter the fray. She, being deeply worried, sent word to Priam to keep her husband out of the battle that day. Priam, therefore, divided the command of his forces between

Alexander, Helenus, Troilus, and Aeneas. Hector, on learning of this, bitterly blamed Andromache, and told her to bring forth his armour; nothing, he said, could keep him from battle. Then, rushing to the palace, she told King Priam how she had dreamt that Hector would eagerly leap into battle; and holding Astyanax, she knelt before him, and begged him not to allow this. Accordingly, Priam sent all the others to battle, but kept Hector back. [317]

Furious Achilles went into battle, and killed one of Hector's brothers, and vengeance drove him to go to war. Priam beseeched Hector not to do battle with Achilles, ' Hector, my dear child, abide not, I pray thee, yon man, alone with none to aid thee, lest forthwith thou meet thy doom, slain by the son of Peleus, since verily he is far the mightier – cruel that he is. I would that he were loved by the gods even as by me! Then would the dogs and vultures speedily devour him as he lay unburied .' [318] His mother Hecabe and his wife Andromache begged him to seek refuge behind the walls, and not face Achilles. Hecuba wailed and shed tears, loosening the folds of her robe, while with the other hand she showed her breast, and amid shedding of tears she spoke unto him winged words, ' Hector, my child, have thou respect unto this and pity me, if ever I gave thee the breast to lull thy pain. Think thereon, dear child, and ward off yon foemen from within the wall, neither stand thou forth to face him. Cruel is he; for if so be he shay thee, never shall I lay thee on a bier and bewail thee, dear plant, born of mine own self, nay, nor shall thy bounteous wife; but far away from us by the ships of the Argives shall swift dogs devour thee .' So, both of them with weeping beseeched their son, but could not persuade the heart of Hector, but he abode Achilles as he drew nigh. [319]

But trembling got hold of Hector, and he did not dare to abide any more where he was, but left the gates behind him, and fled in fear. Achilles rushed after him, trusting in his fleetness of foot. Hector fled as fast as he could in terror, beneath the wall of the Trojans. Such escape lasted for some time, and finally, Hector turned, and told Achilles, 'No longer, son of Peleus,

will I flee from thee, as before I thrice fled around the great city of Priam, […] but now again my spirit biddeth me stand and face thee, whether I slay or be slain. But come hither, let us call the gods to witness, for they shall be the best witnesses and guardians of our covenant: I will do unto thee no foul despite, if Zeus grant me strength to outstay thee, and I take thy life; but when I have stripped from thee thy glorious armour, Achilles, I will give thy dead body back to the Achaeans; and so too do thou. ' [320] With an angry glance Achilles spoke to him, ' Hector, talk not to me, thou madman, of covenants. As between lions and men there are no oaths of faith, nor do wolves and lambs have hearts of concord but are evil-minded continually one against the other, even so is it not possible for thee and me to be friends, neither shall there be oaths between us till one or the other shall have fallen . […] Now shalt thou pay back the full price of all my sorrows for my comrades, whom thou didst slay when raging with thy spear .' [321]

So saying Achilles poised his spear, and hurled it. Hector, looking steadily at him, avoided it. Later on, Hector hurled his spear, and smote full upon the shield of Achilles; but far from the shield the spear leapt back. Hector waxed wroth for that the swift shaft had flown vainly from his hand, and he stood confounded, for he had no second spear of ash. And Achilles rushed upon him, his heart full of savage wrath, and before his breast he made a covering of his shield, fair and richly-dight, and tossed his bright four-horned helm. He devised evil for Hector, looking the while upon his fair flesh to find where it was most open to a blow. Now all the rest of Hector's flesh was covered by the armour of bronze he had stripped from Patroclus, when he slew him; but there was an opening where the collar bones part the neck and shoulders, even the gullet, where destruction of life cometh most speedily . As Hector rushed upon him, Achilles let drive with his spear; and clean out through the tender neck went the point, but clave not the windpipe. Hector fell in the dust, and Achilles exulted over him, '[…] Thee shall dogs and birds rend in unseemly wise, but to him shall the Achaeans give burial .' [322]

Then, his strength all spent, spoke to him Hector, ‘ I implore thee by thy life and knees and parents, suffer me not to be devoured of dogs by the ships of the Achaeans; nay, take thou store of bronze and gold, gifts that my father and queenly mother shall give thee, but my body give thou back to my home, that the Trojans and the Trojans’ wives may give me my due meed of fire in my death .’ Then, with an angry glance spoke unto him Achilles, ‘Implore me not, dog, by knees or parents. […] There lives no man that shall ward off the dogs from thy head .’ Then even in dying spoke unto him Hector, ‘ Verily I know thee well, and forbode what shall be, neither was it to be that I should persuade thee; of a truth the heart in thy breast is of iron. Bethink thee now lest haply I bring the wrath of the gods upon thee on the day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo shall slay thee, valorous though thou art, at the Scaean gate .’ Even as he thus spoke the end of death enfolded him and his soul fleeting from his limbs was gone to Hades, bewailing her fate. And to him even in his death spoke goodly Achilles , ‘Lie thou dead; my fate will I accept whenso Zeus willeth to bring it to pass and the other immortal gods .’ [323]

As Achilles began to strip from Hector’s shoulders the blood-stained armour he was joined by others of the Achaeans, who ran up to gaze upon Hector’s stature and wondrous comeliness. Then Achilles stood up among the Achaeans and spoke winged words, ‘ But come, singing our song of victory, […] let us go back to the hollow ships and bring thither this corpse. We have won us great glory; we have slain goodly Hector, to whom the Trojans made prayer throughout their city, as unto a god .’ He spoke, and devised foul entreatment for Hector. The tendons of both his feet behind he pierced from heel to ankle, and made fast therethrough thongs of oxhide, and bound them to his chariot, but left the head to trail . And from Hector as he was dragged the dust rose up, and on either side his dark hair flowed outspread, and all in the dust lay the head that was before so fair . [324]

Priam, when he saw Achilles dragging Hector, uttered a piteous groan, and to all he made prayer, ‘ Withhold, my

friends, and suffer me for all your love to go forth from the city alone, and hie me to the ships of the Achaeans. I will make prayer to yon ruthless man, yon worker of violence, if so be he may have shame before his fellows and have pity on my old age. He too, I ween, hath a father such as I am, even Peleus, that begat him and reared him to be a bane to Trojans; but above all others hath he brought woe upon me, so many sons of mine hath he slain in their prime. Yet for them all I mourn not so much, despite my grief, as for one only, sharp grief for whom will bring me down to the house of Hades—even for Hector .' So spoke he weeping, and thereto the townsfolk added their laments. And among the women of Troy Hecabe led the vehement lamentation , 'My child, ah woe is me! How shall I live in my sore anguish, now thou art dead ?' [325]

Hector's wife, as yet knew nothing, for no true messenger had come to tell her that her husband abode without the gates; but she was weaving a web in the innermost part of the lofty house, a purple web of double fold, and therein was broidering flowers of varied hue . She had called to her fair-tressed handmaids to set a great tripod on the fire, to the end that there should be a hot bath for Hector whenso he returned from out the battle. But the shrieks she heard and the groanings from the wall, and her limbs reeled, and from her hand the shuttle fell to earth. Then, she spoke again among her fair-tressed handmaids , ' Come hither two of you, and follow me, let me see what deeds have been wrought. It was the voice of my husband's honoured mother that I heard, and in mine own breast my heart leapeth to my mouth, and beneath me my knees are numbed; verily hard at hand is some evil thing for the children of Priam .' She rushed to the wall, where the men were thronging, and gazing out saw Hector's corpse being dragged by the horses. Then down over her eyes came the darkness of night, and enfolded her, and she fell backward and gasped forth her spirit . And round about her came thronging her husband's sisters and his brothers' wives, who bare her up in their midst, distraught even unto death . But when she revived, and her spirit was returned into her breast, then she

lifted up her voice in wailing, and spoke among the women of Troy, ‘ Ah Hector, woe is me! to one fate, it seemeth, were we born, both of us twain, thou in Troy in the house of Priam, and I in Thebe beneath wooded Placus in the house of Eetion, who reared me when I was a babe, hapless father of a cruel-fated child; would God he had never begotten me. Now thou unto the house of Hades beneath the deeps of earth art departing, but me thou leavest in bitter grief, a widow in thy halls, and thy son is still a mere babe . […] But now by the beaked ships far from thy parents shall writhing worms devour thee, when the dogs have had their fill, as thou liest a naked corpse .’ [326]

When the Achaeans came to the ships and the Hellespont, each man scattered to his own ship, except for the Myrmidons, whom Achilles restrained. He spoke among his war-loving comrades, saying, ‘ Ye Myrmidons of fleet steeds, my trusty comrades, let us not yet loose our single-hooved horses from their cars, but with horses and chariots let us draw nigh and mourn Patroclus; for that is the due of the dead .’ They raised the voice of wailing all with one accord, and Achilles was leader thereof. Then, three times about the corpse they drove their fair-maned steeds, and he laid his man-slaying hands upon the breast of his comrade, ‘ Hail, I bid thee, O Patroclus, even in the house of Hades, for even now I am bringing to fulfillment all that aforetime I promised thee: that I would drag Hector hither and give him raw unto dogs to devour, and of twelve glorious sons of the Trojans would I cut the throats before thy pyre, in my wrath at thy slaying .’ [327] The chiefs of the Achaeans attempted to console and persuade Achilles to wash from him the bloody gore before he could eat. But he denied them, and swore an oath thereto, ‘ Nay, verily by Zeus, that is highest and best of gods, it may not be that water should come nigh my head, until such time as I have laid Patroclus on the fire, and have heaped him a barrow, and shorn my hair withal .’ [328]

Patroclus was clothed in the most beautiful and costly garments; Hippodamia and Diomedea (he had loved her especially) had seen to this. [329] They heaped up the wood, and

made a pyre of an hundred feet this way and that; and on the topmost part thereof they set the dead man, their hearts sorrow-laden . And twelve valiant sons of the Trojans Achilles slew with the bronze, and thereto he set the iron might of fire, to range at large. Then, he uttered a groan, and called on his dear comrade by name, ‘ Hail, I bid thee, O Patroclus, even in the house of Hades, for now am I bringing all to pass, which afore-time I promised thee. Twelve valiant sons of the great-souled Trojans, lo all these together with thee the flame devoureth; but Hector, son of Priam, will I nowise give to the fire to feed upon, but to dogs .’ [330]

According to Dares and Homer, Hector was killed in a duel with Achilles. [331] Dictys, who was on the Achaeans’ side, produces a different variant of Hector being killed in an ambush, in a dishonest manner. He wrote that news was brought that Hector and a few other men had set out to meet Penthesilea, the queen of the Amazons, because she was coming to Priam’s aid. **‘Accordingly,’** Dictys wrote, **‘Achilles chose a few faithful comrades, and hastened to lay an ambush for the Trojans. […] Hector and all those, who were with him, were killed; with the single exception of one of Priam’s sons, whom Achilles captured, and having cut off his hands, sent back to Troy to tell what had happened.’** Then, he stripped Hector of his armour, tied the body behind his chariot, and then, ordered Automedon, his charioteer, to give the horses free reign. A new and terrible kind of revenge, Dictys wrote. [332]

7.3. Priam recovers Hector’s body from Achilles

Both Homer and Dictys give an account of how Hector’s body was recovered. In his narration, Homer, as he is basically doing throughout the book, blends together human decisions and those taken by the gods. Dictys, instead, chooses to depict the events from a human perspective, and is closer to the truth.

Priam decided to go and ask for Achilles’ mercy, and pay him a ransom for having his son’s body back. He prepared all the

treasure to be given to Achilles. So, he took twelve beauteous robes, and twelve cloaks of single fold, and as many coverlets, and as many white mantles, and therewithal as many tunics. And of gold he weighed out and bare forth talents, ten in all, and two gleaming tripods, and four cauldrons, and a cup exceeding fair, that the men of Thrace had given him when he went thither on an embassage. [333]

According to Dictys, Priam came to Achilles – a wretched sight, dressed in clothes of mourning, with suppliant face and suppliant hands, a king to whom grief had left no signs of royal majesty, or former power and glory. With him came Andromache, no less wretched than himself, her features marred in every way. To aid the king in his request, she brought her two little boys, Astyanax (some called him Scamandrius) and Laodamas. And Polyxena also came, supporting her father. [334] As Dictys wrote, 'Soon our leaders were going to meet Priam, eager to discover why he was coming. When Priam saw them advancing, […] he begged them to pity his fortunes, and plead his case with Achilles. His old age and ruined life evoked the sympathy of Nestor. Ulysses, however, cursed him, reminding him of how he had spoken against the envoys at Troy before the war had begun.' [335]

When Achilles learned of Priam's arrival, he sent Automedon, his charioteer, to summon the king. He himself waited, holding the urn that contained the bones of Patroclus. Priam, along with the Achaean leaders, entered the hut of Achilles. Coming close to Achilles, Priam clasped in his hands his knees, and kissed his hands, the terrible, man-slaying hands that had slain his many sons. [336] Meanwhile he was entreating Achilles, 'You are not to blame for my misfortunes. It is one of the gods who, instead of pitying me, has brought the end of my life to ruin. Now I am overwhelmed and worn out with grief for my sons. They, confident in their youth and the resources of their kingdom, and always desiring to fulfil the desires of their hearts, have devised, contrary to their expectations, destruction both for themselves and for me. It is their maxim that old age should be despised by youth. Nevertheless, if my death will

prevent those of my sons, who are left, from committing other crimes of this sort, I also offer myself, if thus it is pleasing, for capital punishment. Do as you wish. With one stroke take away my little life and all those tribulations, which have made me a sorrowful wretch, a most miserable spectacle among men. Here I am. I ask no mercy. Take me captive, if you wish. Nothing remains of my former fortune; **my kingdom fell when Hector died** . But, if I have already paid with my personal sorrows, with the blood of my sons, a sufficient penalty to all Greece [Achaeans] for the ill-considered acts of my people, pity my age, consider the gods, remember piety. At least grant the petition of these young boys for the body, not the life, of their father, Hector. Remember you own father, who is spending all of his waking hours thinking of you.' [337] ' Nay, have thou awe of the gods, Achilles, and take pity on me, remembering thine own father. Lo, I am more piteous far than he, and have endured what no other mortal on the face of earth hath yet endured, to reach forth my hand to the face of him that hath slain my sons .' [338] While he was talking, as he lost his power of speech, his legs gave way. Everyone, who was present, was pained at this very pitiable sight. Then, Andromache prostrated the small sons of Hector before Achilles. She herself was weeping; with a voice full of sorrow, she begged for permission only to look at the body of her husband. During this pitiable scene, Phoenix was raising Priam and encouraging him to recover. [339]

Achilles took the old man by the hand, and gently put him from him. So, the two bethought them of their dead, and wept; Priam for man-slaying Hector wept sore, the while he grovelled at Achilles' feet, but Achilles wept for his father, and now again for Patroclus; and the sound of their moaning went up through the house. But when Achilles had had his fill of lamenting, and the longing therefor had departed from his heart and limbs, forthwith then he sprang from his seat, and raised the old man by his hand, pitying his hoary head and hoary beard; and addressed him with winged words, ' Ah, unhappy man, full many in good sooth are the evils thou hast endured in thy soul. How hadst thou the heart to come alone to

the ships of the Achaeans, to meet the eyes of me that have slain thy sons many and valiant? Of iron verily is thy heart. But come, sit thou upon a seat, and our sorrows will we suffer to lie quiet in our hearts, despite our pain; for no profit cometh of chill lament .' [340]

Achilles, having comforted Priam, said that Priam should have prevented his sons from their criminal acts in the beginning. By acquiescing, he had become their accomplice in treachery. Ten years ago, he was not so old that they would have refused to listen to him. But, as it was, their greed, their lust for the property of others, had driven them to monstrous acts: **they had carried off not only a woman, but also the wealth of Atreus and Pelops.** It was simple justice that they should receive their present punishments, or even worse. **Until now, the Achaeans had obeyed civilized rules of war and returned the bodies of their enemies for burial. But Hector had acted contrary to the laws of human nature, when he dragged the body of Patroclus from the battle, with the evident intent of abusing and defiling it. Now the Trojans must bear their punishments in expiation of this crime. Thus, in future time, the Achaeans and other peoples, remembering what had happened in this case, would keep the natural law. The Achaeans had not left their homes and children and come to fight this bloody, toilsome war just for Helen's sake, or Menelaus'. What they really wanted to decide was who would rule the world. Nevertheless, the abduction of a woman was cause enough for the invasion. Achilles called down curses upon Helen, swearing that when Troy was taken, he would slay her in public, a fitting reward for her crime. He blamed her for his loss of native land and parents, and also, of the greatest consolation of his homesick heart, Patroclus.** [341]

Then, Achilles stood up and went out to consult with the leaders mentioned above. He was persuaded to follow their unanimous advice: he would accept the gifts that were being offered, and hand over the body of Hector. When this had been decided in consultation with them, he returned to his hut.

Polyxena fell at his feet, and promised to be his willing slave if he would return the body. He gave Polyxena his hand and helped her to rise; but first he showed his concern for Priam, and commanded Phoenix to comfort him. When, however, Priam refused to be consoled, and continued to lament, Achilles swore that Priam's wishes would not be satisfied until he had changed into better clothes and dined with him. And so, the king, fearing to refuse, lest he lost what seemed to have been granted, decided humbly to submit to the will of Achilles. [342]

Then, like a lion the son of Peleus sprang forth from the houses – with him went two squires as well, Automedon and Alcimus. These then loosed from beneath the yoke the horses and mules, and led within the herald, the crier of the old king, and set him on a chair; and from the wain of goodly felloes they took the countless ransom for Hector's head. But they left there two robes and a fair-woven tunic, to the end that Achilles might enwrap the dead therein, and so give him to Priam to be borne to his home. Then, Achilles called forth two handmaids and bade them wash and anoint him, bearing him to a place apart that Priam might not have sight of his son. When the handmaids had washed the body and anointed it with oil, and had cast about it a fair cloak and a tunic, then Achilles himself lifted it and set it upon a bier, and his comrades with him lifted it upon the polished waggon. Then, he uttered a groan, and called by name upon his dear comrade, ' Be not thou wroth with me, Patroclus, if thou hearest even in the house of Hades that I have given back goodly Hector to his dear father .' So spoke Achilles, and went back within the hut. He spoke to Priam, saying, ' Thy son, old sire, is given back according to thy wish, and lieth upon a bier; and at break of day thou shalt thyself behold him, as thou bearest him hence; but for this present let us bethink us of supper . […] But come, let us twain likewise, noble old sire, bethink us of meat; and thereafter shalt thou make lament over thy dear son, when thou hast borne him into Ilios; mourned shall he be of thee many tears .' [343]

After shaking the dust from his hair, Priam took a bath; and then, he and his retinue went to dine with Achilles. Achilles sprang up, and slew a white-fleeced sheep, and his comrades flayed and made it ready well and duly, and sliced it cunningly, and roasted the morsels carefully. Automedon took bread and dealt it forth on the table in fair baskets, while Achilles dealt the meat. So, they put forth their hands to the good cheer lying ready before them. Then verily Priam, son of Dardanus, marvelled at Achilles, how tall he was and how comely; for he was like the gods to look upon. Achilles did marvel, beholding Priam's goodly aspect and harkening to his words. [344]

When everyone had had enough to eat, their host spoke as follows, 'Now, tell me, Priam, what was the real reason you thought Helen should be kept so long, even when your military efforts were failing, and your troubles and tribulations were steadily mounting? Why did you not drive her out, like an ill-omened plague? You knew that she had betrayed her native land and parents, and what was most disgraceful, her godlike brothers. […] Why, when she had come to Troy to be a bane to everyone, why did you not throw her out? Why did you not drive her from your walls with curses? Why did the elders of Troy acquiesce when their sons were dying every day in battle? Could it be that they did not know that she alone was causing all those deaths? […] For my part, I honor both your old age and your prayers. I shall return the body. Never shall I allow myself to be guilty of crimes I condemn in my enemies.' [345]

These words made Priam begin to weep again. He said that it had been the will of the gods for him to go to war. The gods were the authors of good and evil for every mortal. He had been unable to avoid the future, even though the gods had revealed the events that Alexander would cause. When Hecuba was pregnant, she had told him how she had dreamt of a torch in whose flames Mount Ida, and then, as the fire continued, the shrines of the gods, and finally, the whole state had been consumed, excepting only the homes of Antenor and Anchises. The interpreters had said that this dream portended

the fall of Troy. Accordingly, they had decided to kill the baby at birth. But Hecuba, with a woman's tenderness toward her child, had given him secretly to shepherds to rear on Mount Ida. When he was grown, he was so handsome that no one, not even his fiercest enemy, could bear to kill him. Then, he had married Oenone. Soon, however, having been seized with a desire of seeing faraway regions and kingdoms, he had gone on that journey on which he carried off Helen. **As for Helen, all the Trojans, including Priam himself, loved her. Not even the thought of the deaths of their sons and relatives could persuade them to reject her.** Only Antenor, his wisest counselor in peace and war, was for this; Antenor, in the beginning, when Alexander returned from Greece, even disowned his own son, Glaucus, because he had gone along on that journey. Now Troy was being destroyed, and he, the king, was near to death. In fact, he longed to die, and give up the burden of being a king. He was tortured only by the thought that, when his country fell, Hecuba and his daughters would be enslaved. What masters, what shame, would they have to endure? [346]

When Priam had finished this speech, he ordered that everything be displayed, which he had brought to ransom his son. Achilles commanded the gold and silver to be removed, and also the clothes he liked best. Having gathered together what was left, he gave it to Polyxena. Then, he handed over the body to Priam. The King, hoping to insure the safety of his daughter if Troy should fall, fell at the knees of Achilles, and begged him to take Polyxena, and keep her for himself. The young man answered that she should return with her father; they would see about her at some other time, and in some other place. [347] Finally, Priam said to Achilles, ' O thou nurtured of Zeus, that lulled at length by sweet sleep we may rest and take our joy; for never yet have mine eyes closed beneath mine eyelids since at thy hands my son lost his life . […] But now have I tasted of meat, and have let flaming wine pass down my throat; whereas till now had I tasted naught .' [348] Thus, in the morning, Priam recovered the body of Hector, and returned to Troy along with the others.

On learning that the King had accomplished his mission, and returned unharmed along with the others, the Trojans praised the Achaeans' compassion. Priam, they had thought, would never obtain the body; the Achaeans would feel justified in holding him prisoner since they, the Trojans, had refused to give Helen up. When they saw Hector's body, everyone, including the allies, ran forward. They were weeping, and pulling their hair and scratching their faces. The city was ruled by despair. Hector, whose deeds in war and peace alike were known throughout the world, his fame being due to his righteous character no less than to his martial spirit, Hector was dead. They buried him close to the tomb of their former King Ilus. For ten days from sunrise until sunset, the time of the truce, everyone, without ceasing, wailed for Hector, as was his due. [349]

Hector's wife and his mother made the first lament: Andromache led the wailing, holding in her arms the while the head of man-slaying Hector, '[…] For me beyond all others shall grievous woes be left. For at thy death thou didst neither stretch out thy hands to me from thy bed, nor speak to me any word of wisdom whereon I might have pondered night and day with shedding of tears .' Hecabe led the vehement wailing, ' Hector, far dearest to my heart of all my children, lo, when thou livedst thou wast dear to the gods, and therefore have they had care of thee for all thou art in the doom of death . […] All dewy-fresh thou liest.' Now Helen led the wailing, 'Hector, far dearest to my heart of all my husband's brethren! […] In sooth my husband is […] Alexander, that brought me to Troy-land – would I died ere then! For this is now the twentieth year from the time when I went from thence and am gone from my native land, but never yet heard I evil or despiteful word from thee . […] Wherefore I wail alike for thee and for my hapless self with grief at heart; for no longer have I anyone beside in broad Troy that is gentle to me or kind; but all men shudder at me .' So spoke she wailing, and thereat the countless throng made moan. But King Priam spoke among the folk, saying, ' Bring wood now, ye men of Troy, unto the city, neither have ye anywise fear at heart of a

cunning ambush of the Argives; for verily Achilles laid upon me this word when he sent me forth from the black ships, that he would do us no hurt until the twelfth dawn be come .' [350]

For nine days' space they brought in measureless store of wood, but when the tenth Dawn arose, then bare they forth Hector, shedding tears the while, and on the topmost pyre they laid the dead man, and cast fire thereon . But soon as early Dawn appeared, then gathered the folk about the pyre of glorious Hector. And when they were assembled and met together, first they quenched with flaming wine all the pyre, so far as the fire's might had come upon it, and thereafter his brethren and his comrades gathered the white bones, mourning, and big tears flowed ever down their cheeks. The bones they took and placed in a golden urn, covering them over with soft purple robes, and quickly laid the urn in a hollow grave, and covered it over with great close-set stones . When they had piled the barrow, they went back to Troy, and, gathering together duly feasted a glorious feast in the palace of Priam, the king fostered of Zeus . [351]

Chapter VIII

WAR WITH THE ALLIES OF TROY

8.1. The battle between the Amazons and the Achaeans

Ten years had gone by since the time when the Achaeans had debarked; however, despite the numerous economic resources they possessed, and the great support by the allies, the Trojans had not been able to drive the Achaeans out. Hector's attempt, who succeeded in setting the ships aflame, resulted in his death. Next to Hector, Paris and Troilus were the ones, who had the strength and fortitude comparable to his. Nevertheless, the two of them were not able to bear the brunt of the war, and therefore, powerful allies were called upon, and immediately after Hector's death, Amazons' Penthesileia arrived. From Thermodon, from the broad-sweeping streams, she came clothed upon with beauty of Goddesses. [352] She brought a large army of the Amazons and other neighbouring peoples.

On being informed of Hector's death, she was very upset, and desired to go home. Alexander gave her much gold and silver, and finally, prevailed upon her to stay. [353] However, Priam was not optimistic about her success, and said, 'Ne'er shall I see return alive from war Penthesileia! [354]

Several days later, she drew up her forces and made an attack, without any help from the Trojans, so great was her trust in her people. She arranged the archers on the right flank, the foot soldiers on the left, and cavalry, to which she herself belonged, in the centre. Thus, the two armies, having drawn up their forces, joined battle. The queen slaughtered many, using her bow. Meanwhile the Ajax was leading the foot soldiers; advancing with their shields before them, and pushing back any who got in their way, they wreaked general havoc. Penthesileia slew Molion, Persinous, and Eilissus. Idomeneus stabbed Bremusa. She fell, as falls a graceful-shafted pine hewn mid the hills by woodmen. So, with a wailing shriek she fell, and death unstrung her every limb. [355]

During the battle, Penthesileia prevailed, routing the Achaeans' army. But, when the very ships were now at point to be by hands of Trojans set aflame, Aias (Ajax) spoke to Achilles, 'Let us go forth then, ere the Trojans win unto the ships, and make great slaughter there of Argive men, and set the ships aflame. Foulest reproach such thing on thee and me should bring; for it beseems not that the seed of mighty Zeus should shame the sacred blood of hero-fathers, who themselves of old with Hercules the battle-eager sailed to Troy, and smote her even at her height of glory, when Laomedon was king.' [356]

Penthesileia wanted to meet Aias and Achilles. And first leapt the lance sped from her hand, which was foiled, for a little Aias swerved. Then, she hurled her second lance; but they in utter scorn laughed now. Aias left Penthesileia unto Peleus' son alone. [357] And now with scoffing speech to her in turn Achilles spoke, '[…] We from the Cronos' Son, the Thunder-roller, boast our high descent. Ay, even Hector quailed, the battle-swift, before us. […] Yea, my spear slew him, for all

his might. But you – your heart is utterly mad, that you hast greatly dared to threaten us with death this day! For you, your latest hour shall swiftly come – is come!' [358] 'We abstained from touching the women because of their sex,' Dictys wrote, [359] but, in this case, Achilles continued his duel with a woman, of which he would later repent.

So, that death-ravening spear of Peleus's son rushed on, and pierced Penthesileia. Straightway fell she down into the dust of earth, the arms of death, in grace and comeliness fell, for naught of shame dishonoured her fair form. Face down she lay on the long spear out gasping her last breath, stretched upon that fleet horse as on a couch. [360] Then, over her with scornful laugh the son of Peleus vaunted, saying, 'In the dust lie there a prey of the teeth of dogs, to ravens' beaks, you wretched thing! Who cozened you to come forth against me? And thought you to go home from the war alive, to bear with you right royal gifts from Priam the old king, your guerdon for slain Argives? Ha, 'twas not the Immortals, who inspired you with this thought, who know that I of heroes mightiest am, the Danaans' light of safety, but a woe to Trojans and to you, O evil-starred!' [361]

Then, there as fallen in dust and blood she lay, rose, like the breaking of the dawn, to view 'neath dainty-penciled brows a lovely face, lovely in death. The Argives thronged around, and all they saw and marvelled, for she seemed like an Immortal. Achilles' very heart was wrung with love's remorse to have slain a thing so sweet, who might have brought her home, his queenly bride, to chariot-glorious Phthia; for she was flawless. [362] Peleus' son gazed, wild with all regret, still gazed on her, the strong, the beautiful, laid in the dust; and all his heart was wrung, was broken down with sorrowing love, deep, strong as he had known when that beloved friend Patroclus died. [363] Thersites mocked to Achilles' face, saying, 'Nothing there is to men more ruinous than lust for woman's beauty; it makes fools of wise men.' [364] The mighty heart of Peleus' son leapt into flame of wrath. A sudden buffet of his resistless smote 'neath the railer's ear, and all his teeth were dashed to the

earth: he fell upon his face: forth of his lips the blood in torrent gushed: swift from his body fled the dastard soul of that vile niddering. Then, mid the warrior Argives cried a voice, 'Not good it is for baser men to rail on kings, or secretly or openly; for wrathful retribution swiftly comes.' [365] Then of their pity did the Atreid kings – for these too at the imperial loveliness of Penthesileia marvelled – render up her body to the men of Troy, for a herald came asking this boon for Priam; for the king longed with deep yearning of the heart to lay that battle-eager maiden, with her arms, and with her war-horse, in the great earth-mound of old Laomedon. And so, he heaped a high broad pyre without the city wall: upon the height thereof that warrior-queen they laid, and costly treasures did they heap around her. And, as for a beloved daughter, rang all round the Trojan men's heart-stricken wail. They buried her on an outstanding tower, beside the bones of old Laomedon, a queen beside a king. [366]

Dictys gives another variant of her death after Achilles wounded her. He wrote, 'Finding Penthesileia half-alive, we marveled at her brazen boldness. Almost immediately a meeting was held to determine her fate, and it was decided to throw her, while still alive enough to have feeling, […] into the river […], for she had transgressed the bounds of nature and her sex. Achilles favored just letting her die, and then, giving her burial. Diomedes, however, prevailed: […] he […] won a unanimous vote in favor of drowning. Accordingly, dragging her by the feet, he dumped her into the Scamander. It goes without saying that this was a very cruel and barbarous act.' [367]

8.2. The battle between Memnon the African and the Achaeans

Memnon the African was a very powerful king, who was called upon to aid Priam, as mercenary. According to some historians, his origin lay in Minor Asia. However, it is most clear from historical sources that he came from Africa with a large army of Africans and Indians. Priam thought that such a

large army would make all end of the war with the Achaeans, but Polydamas, the prudent-hearted, thought not good to war thus endlessly, and slowly, said to the Trojans, ‘Mine heart misgives me, lest, though he with all his warriors come, he come but to his death, and unto thousands more. […] Better it were for us to render back unto the Danaans Helen and her wealth, even all that glory of women brought with her from Sparta, and add other treasure – yea, repay it twofold, so as to save our Troy and our own souls.’ [368] But Paris, who by that decision would be severed from his wife, reviled him in the face, ‘Thou dastard battle-blencher Polydamas! […] Cower, coward, in thine halls!’ [369] Polydamas wrathfully answered, ‘A caitiff hound, a reptile fool, is he who fawns on men before their faces, while his heart is black with malice […]. ‘O thou of living men most mischievous! Thyvalour – quotha! – brings us misery! Thine heart endures, and will endure, that strife should have no limit, save in utter ruin of fatherland and people for thy sake!’ [370] Paris found no word to answer him, for conscience woke remembrance of all woes he had brought on Troy, and should bring; for his passion-fevered heart would rather hail quick death than severance from Helen. [371]

Memnon, the son of Tithonus and Aurora, arrived with a large army of **Indians and Ethiopians** , a truly remarkable army, which consisted of thousands and thousands of men with various kinds of arms, and surpassed the hopes and prayers even of Priam. All the country around and beyond Troy, as far as eye could see, was filled with men and horses. [372] Priam welcomed them in his palace, and held a banquet for them.

Wasting no time, the next day of his arrival, Memnon went into battle. Memnon stabbed Antilochus, the son of Nestor, above the breast, the spot of speediest death. [373] This caused his immediate death. Upon all the Danaans at this fall came grief; but anguish-stricken was the heart of Nestor most of all, to see his child slain in his sight. [374] He wanted to face himself Memnon, but the latter refused him. ‘Ancient,’ he cried, ‘it was my shame to fight with one so much mine elder: I am not blind unto honor. My bold heart hoped for contest

worthy of mine hand and spear.' [375] So, Memnon refused a duel with Nestor, on account of the latter's age.

Then, to the side of Achilles came Nestor. Anguished for his son, he cried, 'Achilles, thou great bulwark of the Greeks [Achaeans], slain is my child! The armor of my dead hath Memnon, and I fear me lest his corpse be cast a prey to dogs.' [376] Achilles heard, and decided to face Memnon in a duel. Once Memnon came face to face with Achilles, in his hands he caught up from the ground a stone, and hurled. Down on the shield of Peleus' son it crashed. But he, the invincible, shrank not before the huge rock shard, and thrusting out his long lance, on the right shoulder above the shield he smote and staggered him; but Memnon, despite the wound, fought on with arrogant words for Achilles, and cried, 'Now shall you in your death fill up, I throw, you dark doom, overmastered by mine hands. […] Fool, wherefore hast you ruthlessly destroyed Trojans? […] Ha, now your doom hath found you!' [377] Beneath the breast-bone of Memnon plunged Achilles' sword; clear through his body all the dark-blue blade leapt: suddenly snapped the silver cord of life. Down in a pool of blood he fell. Meanwhile within their walls, the Trojan folk for Memnon sorrowed sore, with vain regret, yearning for that lost king and all his host. [378]

Dictys remembered, 'Memnon's unexpected death, while breaking the enemy's spirit, bolstered ours. Now the Ethiopians had turned and were fleeing; now our men were pursuing, wreaking great slaughter. Polydamas tried to renew the battle, but soon was surrounded and fell, hit in the groin by Ajax. And Glaucus, the son of Antenor, was killed; he was fighting Diomedes, when Agamemnon struck him down with a spear. One might see Ethiopians and Trojans fleeing everywhere over the field in disorder, without leaders, crowding and rushing, hindering each other […]. Our men,' Dictys wrote, 'their spirits renewed, were attacking and slaughtering the enemy. […] It was in this battle that Priam lost the following sons: Aretus and Echemmon were killed by Ulysses; Dryops, Bias, and Chorithan were killed by

Idomeneus; Ilioneus and Philenor by Ajax, the son of Oileus; Thyestes and Telestes by Diomedes; Antiphus, Agavus, Agathon, and Glaucus by the other Ajax; and Asteropaeus by Achilles. There was no end to the slaughter until our men were finally thoroughly sated, thoroughly tired.' He went on, 'When we had returned to camp, the Trojans sent envoys to obtain permission to bury their dead. Thus, the dead were gathered, each by his own, and cremated and buried according to ancient custom. Memnon, however, was cremated […]; his remains were put in an urn, and given to relatives to take to his native land.' [379]

Chapter IX

THE DEATH OF ACHILLES, EURYPYLUS, AND PARIS, AND AJAX' SUICIDE

9.1. Achilles' love for Princess Polyxena and his murder by Paris

Troilus was the most handsome son that Priam had by Hecuba, and at that time, was thought to be an adolescent, or a little bit older. Even though at a young age, according to the account given by Dares of Phrygia, he was able to wound Menelaus, Agamemnon, Diomedes, and indeed, Achilles himself.

When the time for fighting returned, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Ajax led forth the army. The Trojans came opposite. A great slaughter arose, a fierce and raging battle on both sides. Troilus wounded Menelaus. On the next day, Troilus and Alexander led forth the Trojans. And all the Achaeans came opposite. The battle was fierce. Troilus wounded Diomedes, and, in the course of his slaughter, attacked and wounded Agamemnon himself. For several days the battle raged on. Countless numbers fell on both sides. Then, Agamemnon, seeing that he was losing more of his forces each day, and knowing that they were unable to last, sought a truce of six months. [380]

Priam, having called a meeting of his Council, reported the desires of the Achaeans. Troilus felt that they were asking for too long a time; he urged the Trojans to continue fighting, and fire the ships. When, however, Priam ordered the members of the Council to give their opinions, the vote was unanimous in favour of the Achaean petition, and thus, they granted a truce of six months. Agamemnon buried his dead with honours, and saw to the care of the wounded, such as Diomedes and Menelaus. The Trojans also buried their dead. During the truce

Agamemnon, following the advice of his Council, went to rouse Achilles to battle. But Achilles, still gloomy, refused to go forth; he felt that the king should be suing for peace. Nevertheless, after complaining that it was impossible to refuse Agamemnon, he said that he would send forth his forces when war was resumed, though he himself would stay back. For this Agamemnon gave him his thanks. [381] At this time, Achilles had retreated from war because of his love for Polyxena, Priam's daughter.

When the time for war returned, the Trojans led forth their army. And the forces of the Achaeans came opposite. Achilles, having drawn up his Myrmidons, sent them to Agamemnon, ready for combat. A great battle rose, fierce and raging. Troilus, fighting in the first ranks, slaughtered the Achaeans, and put the Myrmidons to flight. He pressed his attack even in the camp, killing many and wounding most, which stood in his way, until Ajax, the son of Telamon, stopped him. When Agamemnon saw that many of his men had been killed, he sought a thirty-day truce for holding their funerals. This was granted by Priam, and thus, the Achaeans and Trojans buried their dead. [382]

When the time for war returned, the Trojans led forth their army. And Agamemnon came opposite with all of his leaders. A great slaughter, fierce and raging, arose. When the morning had passed, Troilus advanced to the front, slaying the Achaeans, and making them flee with loud cries in general confusion. It was then that Achilles, seeing this mad and savage advance – the Achaeans being crushed and the Myrmidons being relentlessly slaughtered – reentered the battle; but almost immediately he had to withdraw, wounded by Troilus. The others continued to fight for six days. [383] Achilles (who until then had stayed out of action because of his wound) drew up his Myrmidons, and urged them bravely to make an attack against Troilus. Toward the end of the day, Troilus advanced on horseback, exulting, and caused the Achaeans to flee with loud cries. The Myrmidons, however, came to their rescue, and made an attack against Troilus. In the

midst of the terrible fighting, his horse was wounded and fell, entangling and throwing him off; and swiftly Achilles was there to dispatch him. [384]

Giving a different variant, Dictys wrote, 'Two of Priam's sons were captured, Lycaon and Troilus, the throats of whom, when they had been brought forth into the centre, were cut, by order of Achilles, who was angry with Priam for not having seen to that business they had discussed.' [385] Hence, according to Dictys, Troilus was killed in an act of vengeance against Priam, who had not given Polyxena to Achilles. According to sources, when Priam went to Achilles to request the recovery of Hector's body, that very day he begged Achilles to take Polyxena. Unwilling to play with the situation, however, Achilles decided that they should see about her later, when the time was appropriate. Troilus' death caused irritation and grief among the Trojans, leading to the decision to kill Achilles. A way had to be found to lure him into a trap, as he was difficult to kill in a duel, and the lure for the trap was Polyxena, Priam's daughter, whom he had fallen in love with.

According to Dares of Phrygia, who saw the main actors in the War of Troy, Polyxena was fair, tall, and beautiful. Her neck was slender, her eyes lovely, her hair blond and long, her body well-proportioned, her fingers tapering, her legs straight, and her feet the best. Surpassing all the others in beauty, she remained a completely ingenuous and kind-hearted woman. [386] There is contradictory information as to when Achilles saw her, for, according to Dictys, he saw her and fell in love with her prior to Hector's death, and she went to see Achilles to request the recovery of her brother's corpse. According to Dares, he saw her on the first anniversary of Hector's funeral. [387] This does not count so much as the fact that Achilles fell madly in love with her, and she was the cause that he lost his life.

One day, at Troy, when Hecuba was praying to Apollo, Achilles and a few of his men came to watch the religious ceremonies. Many other women were there besides Hecuba: her daughters-in-law and the wives of the leading Trojans;

some of these, in pure devotion to their queen, attended upon her, while others, pretending to be so devoted, had really come to pray for something for themselves. There were also the daughters of Hecuba, Polyxena and Cassandra, as yet unmarried. They were the priestesses of Minerva and Apollo. When Achilles by chance turned his gaze on Polyxena, he was struck by the beauty of the girl. The longer he remained there, the deeper his passion grew. Finding no relief, he returned to the ships, and, after several days of increasing torment, sent Automedon to Hector to plead his suit for the girl. As for Hector, he, to be sure, would give him his sister to marry if he would betray the whole army to him. [388] Dictys writes that, accordingly, Achilles promised that he would bring the whole war to an end, if Polyxena were given to him. Hector said that Achilles must either swear an oath to this betrayal, or kill the sons of Plisthenes (Agamemnon and Menelaus) and Ajax; and that otherwise he was going to hear of no agreement. Achilles, on hearing this, became terribly angry, and shouted that, in the first battle, as soon as fighting was resumed, he was going to kill Hector. Having summoned Agamemnon and Menelaus, he told them about his love for Polyxena, and about his dealings with Hector. Then, everyone tried to console him by pointing out that the girl would be his soon enough, for, before very long, force would succeed where entreaty failed. [389]

According to Dares, on the first anniversary of Hector's funeral, Priam, Hecuba, Polyxena, and other Trojans went to the tomb. There they happened to meet Achilles, who, being struck by Polyxena's beauty, fell madly in love. The burning power of his love took all the joy out of life. Accordingly, urged by his love, he sent a trusted Phrygian slave to make this proposal to Hecuba: if she would give him Polyxena to marry, he would go home with his Myrmidons, and thus, would set an example, which the other leaders would follow. When the slave went to Hecuba and made the proposal, she answered that she would be willing, if Priam agreed, but that she must talk with him first. Then, the slave, as Hecuba ordered, returned to Achilles, and told him her answer. [390] When Hecuba talked to Priam about Achilles' proposal, Priam

refused to agree, for it was not right to marry one's daughter to an enemy, and even if Achilles himself went home, the other Achaeans would not follow. Therefore, if Achilles wanted this marriage, he must promise a lasting peace, a treaty with sacred oaths; and the Achaeans must depart. On these conditions, Priam would willingly give him his daughter in marriage. The slave of Achilles, according to his understanding with Hecuba, returned to her and learned what Priam had said. Then, he reported all he had heard back to his master. Thereupon, Achilles complained, to any and every one, that for the sake of one woman, that is, Helen, all Europe and Greece (Achaea) were in arms, and now, for a very long time, thousands of men had been dying. Their very liberty, he said, was at stake, and this was the reason they ought to make peace, and take their army back home. [391]

During the truce, Agamemnon sent Ulysses, Nestor, and Diomedes to Achilles to ask him to reenter fighting. But Achilles, still moody, refused to budge from his decision to stay out of battle. He told about his promise to Hecuba, and said that he would certainly fight rather poorly because of his passionate love for Polyxena. They, whom Agamemnon had sent, were not welcome. A lasting peace – that was the need. For the sake of one woman, he said, the Achaeans were risking their lives, endangering their freedom, and wasting a great deal of time. Thus, Achilles demanded peace, and refused to reenter the fighting. [392]

If an agreement was still possible to negotiate after Hector's death, it could no longer be negotiable after Achilles slew Troilus. There was so much hatred for Achilles after Troilus was killed that the only thought that came to mind was to kill him. Hecuba, bewailing the loss of Hector and Troilus, her two bravest sons, both slain by Achilles, summoned her son Alexander, and urgently ordered him to kill Achilles, and thus, uphold the honour of himself and his brothers. This could be done in an ambush, catching his victim off guard. She would summon Achilles, in Priam's name, to come to the temple of Apollo in front of the gate, to settle an agreement according to

which she would give him Polyxena to marry. When Achilles came to this meeting, Alexander could treacherously kill him. Achilles' death would be victory sufficient for her. Alexander promised to do as she asked. During that night he chose the bravest of the Trojans, and stationed them in the temple with instructions to wait for his signal. Hecuba, as she had promised, sent word to Achilles. And Achilles, because of his love for Polyxena, gladly agreed to come to the temple that morning. [393]

'Meanwhile Alexander and Deiphobus, having formed a plot, approached Achilles, as if to confirm the agreement of Priam. In order to incur no suspicion, Alexander (he was wearing a dagger) stopped near the altar, and faced away from our leader,' Dictys wrote. 'Achilles was carrying no weapon, thinking there was nothing to fear in the temple of Apollo. Then, Deiphobus, when the time seemed right, came to Achilles, and, with flattering congratulations for the terms he had made, embraced him, and, hanging upon him, refused to let go until Alexander, with sword drawn, rushed forward, and thrust two blows in the victim's side. When they saw that he was dying they departed in haste, and returned to the city, their very important mission accomplished beyond their fondest hopes.' […] 'And Achilles, breathing his last, said, "Deiphobus and Alexander overpowered me. They came in the matter concerning Polyxena – deceitfully, treacherously".' [394] Alexander's order to throw the bodies to the dogs and birds was countermanded by that of Helenus to take them out of the temple, and hand over to the Achaeans. Thus, the Achaeans received their dead, and carried them back to the camp. Agamemnon gave them magnificent funerals. He obtained a truce from Priam for the purpose of burying Achilles, and then, held funeral games in his honour. [395]

Whereas Dares and Dictys favoured the variant of Achilles being treacherously killed, Smyrnaeus produces a different version of how Achilles was killed, and this is the baleful shaft that Paris shot, which leapt to Achilles' ankle. [396] Then, with unflinching hands from out the wound incurable he drew the

deadly shaft in agonized pain. [397] Yet, leapt he up, and rushed upon the foe, and slew Orythaon, comrade of Hector; then, stabbed and killed Hipponous, and pierced Alcathous. Leaning on his spear he stood, while still the Trojans fled in huddled rout of panic, and he shouted unto them, 'Trojan and Dardan cravens, ye shall not even in my death, escape my merciless spear, but unto mine Avenging Spirits ye shall pay – ay, one and all – destruction's debt!' [398]

According to the first variant, the Trojans handed Achilles' corpse for burial, without ransom and interest, even though Achilles brutalized dead Hector. However, according to the second variant, battle was done to shoulder his body. The Trojans, having seen what had happened, rushed from their gates all together. Following their usual custom, they wanted, no doubt, to mangle the body, and thus, were eager to snatch it away, and carry it to the city. But the Achaeans were also alerted, and taking up arms, advanced to meet them. Soon after they had led forth all of their forces, both sides clashed in battle. Ajax, having handed the body of Achilles to those, who were with him, went on the attack, and slew Asius (the son of Dymas and the brother of Hecuba), whom he encountered first. Then, he cut down a great number of others. Among these were Nastes and Amphimachus, the rulers of Caria. [399]

'When the gates were closed, and the slaughter had ended, the Greeks [Achaeans] took Achilles back to the ships. All of our leaders bewailed the loss of this hero,' Dictys wrote. 'Many of the soldiers, however, believing that Achilles had often tried to betray them, were grieved not in the least, and refused to mourn as they should. Nevertheless, he had been their greatest military asset, and now, by his death, all was lost. They had to admit that, for a man so outstanding in battle, he had met a dishonorable death, or at least, an obscure one. Accordingly, they hastened to bring plenty of wood from Mount Ida, and built a pyre in the place where that of Patroclus had been. Ajax […] was grieved by the death of Achilles more than anyone else, grieved almost beyond his powers of endurance. He had loved Achilles above all others, and had served him with

highest allegiance, for Achilles was not only his relative and closest friend, but also, what especially mattered, the most courageous man there was.' [400] And around him gathered that great host of the Achaeans. A passion of grief came over their hearts; they fell upon their faces on the deep sand flung down, and wept as men all comfortless round Peleus' mighty son. [401]

Ancient Phoenix, who had reared him as his own child, wailed so, 'Thou art reft from me, dear child, and cureless pain has left to me! […] No pang more terrible hath ever stabbed mine heart no, not that hour of exile, when I fled from fatherland […], till Peleus welcomed me with gifts, and lord of his Dolopians made me. In his arms thee through his halls one day he bare, and set upon my knees, and bade me foster thee, his babe, with all love, as mine own dear child. […] For mine heart whispered me, "This fosterling through life shall care for thee, staff of thine age shall be." And that mine hope was for a little while fulfilled; but now thou hast vanished into darkness, and to me is left long heart-ache wild with all regret.' [402]

And stricken most of all with heart-sick pain Briseis, Achilles' couchmate, bowed over the dead, and tore her fair young flesh with ruthless fingers, shrieking, 'Woe for this grief passing all griefs beside! Never on me came anguish like to this not when my brethren died, my fatherland was wasted – like this anguish for thy death! Thou wast my day, my sunlight, my sweet life, mine hope of good, my strong defense from harm, dearer than all my beauty – yea, more dear than my lost parents! Thou wast all in all to me, thou only, captive though I be. You took from me every bondmaid's tasks and like a wife didst hold me. Ah, but now me shall some new Achaean master bear to fertile Sparta, or to thirsty Argos. […] Oh, that the earth had veiled my dead face ere I saw thy doom! ' [403] Then, when the fire had last of all consumed that hero-king, his companions groaning gathered up his bones, and in a silver casket laid. [404] Meanwhile the Achaeans placed the bones of Achilles in an urn with those of Patroclus, and buried the urn at Sigeum. Then, Ajax hired some Sigeans to build a tomb for Achilles; he was angry with the Achaeans, for he thought that

their grief was in no way equal to the loss of so great a hero. [405]

In its meeting, the Achaean Council took the unanimous decision that Ajax, a relative of Achilles, should assume Achilles' command, but Ajax opposed it, for Neoptolemus, Achilles' son, was the first to claim it; therefore, they should bring in Neoptolemus to Troy, and put him in command of the Myrmidons.

9.2. The suicide of Ajax of Telamon

After Achilles' death, Ajax and Ulysses were engaged in a verbal debate as to who would take Achilles' weapons. Both of them had fought and protected his body, and Ajax was also his cousin. However, it would have been fairer if Achilles' weapons were given to Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, Achilles' son. Such conflict ended in Ajax' suicide.

Before the Pelasgians' Council Ajax said, 'I am as powerful in the fierce conflicts of the battle, as that man is in talk. I do not think, however, that I need to mention my deeds to you, **Pelasgians** , since you have seen them: let Ulysses tell you of his that are conducted without witness, in which night is the only sharer! […] As for me, if my courage were in doubt, my noble birth is a powerful argument, a son of Telamon, he, who, under brave Hercules, captured the walls of Troy, and sailed in the ship from Pegasae, with the Argonauts, to Colchis. Telamon's father was Aeacus, who judges there, among the silent dead. […] So, Ajax is third in descent from Jove. Yet, even this ancestry would not further my cause, if I did not share it with great Achilles. Our fathers, Peleus and Aeacus, were brothers: Achilles was my cousin, I ask for my cousin's weapons! Why are you, Ulysses, the son of Sisyphus, and similar to him in your capability for fraud and trickery, involving an alien race in the affairs of the Aeacidae? […] Surely, I, with my own breast, shielded the thousand ships, your hope of return: grant me the arms for all that fleet. Yet, if I may speak the truth, the arms search for greater honor than I

do, to be linked to my glory, and the arms seek out Ajax, not Ajax the arms. Let the Ithacan compare with these things his killing of Rhesus, and of cowardly Dolon, his taking captive Helenus, Priam's son, and his theft of Pallas' image […]: nothing performed in daylight, nothing without Diomede present. If ever you grant the armor for such worthless service, divide it, and let Diomede have the greater share of it.' [406]

Ulysses answered, *'Now, as to race, and ancestry, and whatever we have not personally achieved; I hardly call those things ours* . But since Ajax has recalled that he is Jove's great grandson, Jupiter is the founder of my bloodline also, and I am the same distance from him. Laertes is my father, Arcesius was Laertes' father, and he was the son of Jupiter: and there are no exiled criminals, like Peleus and Telamon, amongst them. […] But I do not claim the arms lying there, because I am nobler on my mother's side, nor because my father is innocent of a brother's blood. **Judge the case on its merits.** Provided that it is not regarded as Ajax' merit that Telamon and Peleus were brothers, and that what is considered in this award is respect for ability not the claims of blood! Or, if you are asking who is the next of kin, and the lawful heir, well, Peleus is Achilles' father, and Pyrrhus is Achilles' son: where is Ajax' claim? […] Teucer is no less Achilles' cousin than Ajax, yet does he ask for the arms, and if he did, would he gain them? So, since it is a contest about naked achievements, I have done more than I can recount in glib words, but I will take things in their proper order.' [407] 'Diomede was my partner: he has his share of praise in this! […] If he did not know that a fighter is worth less than a thinker. […] Your right hand, useful in war, needs the guidance of my intellect. You have power without mind, mine is the care for the future. You can fight, but Atrides, with me, chooses the time to fight. You only display the flesh, I the spirit. By as much as he who steers the ship is superior to him who rows, by as much as the general exceeds the soldier, by that much I surpass you. No less is the head more powerful than the hand, in our body: the energy of the whole is within it.' At the end, Ulysses called on

the Council to grant him the prize for the many years in service. [408]

The weapons were granted to Ulysses, and a serious psychological condition conquered Ajax, feeling he was not being valued. He was fiercer in war than Ulysses, and had fought over Achilles' body, and was his first cousin, and the weapons more than anyone else should have been given to him. Darkness and confusion enveloped his mind. His gaze fixed on the ground; he still stood like a statue. To Menelaus Agamemnon spoke, 'This day shall surely be a ruinous day for all, since Ajax thus is sense-distraught. It may be he will set the ships aflame, and slay us all amidst our tents, in wrath for those lost arms.' [409]

Ajax groaned in misery, and in anguish wailed, 'Ah, me! Why do the Gods abhor me so? They have wrecked my mind! […] Would God that on Odysseus' pestilent heart mine hands had so avenged me! […] But why should I consort, I, a brave man, with the abominable? […] The brave no more hath his due guerdon, but the baser sort is honored most.' [410] The Council of princes was swayed, and it shows what eloquence can do: the gifted speaker carried away the arms of the brave hero. But Ajax, who had so often stood alone against Hector, against sword and flame, against Zeus himself, could not stand against mere passion, and indignation conquered the unconquerable hero. Drawing his sword, he shouted, 'This is mine, at least! Or does Ulysses demand it for himself? This I will use myself, on myself, and the iron so often drenched in Phrygian blood, will now be drenched in its master's, so that none can defeat Ajax but himself.' He spoke, and drove the lethal weapon to its full extent into his chest, that, till then, had never felt a wound. No hand was strong enough to draw out the implanted weapon. [411] Now hasted they and flung themselves upon the dead, outstretched upon their faces: on their heads they cast dust, and their wailing went up to the sky. [412] Then, anguished Teucer fell upon the dead, outpouring many a tear. So wailed he, ever wailed his great death-stricken brother, uttering his lament, 'O Aias, mighty-souled, why was your heart

distraught, that you should deal unto thyself murder?' [413] Tecmessa, taken by Ajax to wife, who bare to him a son Eurysaces, with bitter moan fell on his corpse, 'Alas for me, for me now you are dead, not by the hands of foes in fight struck down, but by your own! […] You hast forgot me and thy child, who never shall make glad his father's heart, shall never mount thy throne. […] Now thou hast died, who wast my god on earth.' [414] Odysseus spoke, 'O friends, there is no greater curse to men than wrath, which groweth till its bitter fruit is strife. Now wrath hath goaded Aias on to this dire issue of the rage that filled his soul against me. […] Yet blame not me, I pray you, for his wrath: blame the dark dolorous Fate that struck him down.' [415]

9.3. The battle between Pyrrhus Neoptolemus from the Pelasgian Phthia and Eurypylus of the Mysians

Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, King of Mysia in Asia Minor, took over power after Teuthras' death. Telephus was the son of Hercules, hence, Eurypylus was Hercules' grandson. His mother was Astyoche, Priam's daughter, and he was also Priam's grandson. At the first stage of the war, the Mysians remained neutral due to the blood relations on both sides, but at the second stage, they entered the war on the Trojans' side. And Pyrrhus, called Neoptolemus, was the son of Achilles and Deidama, the daughter of King Lycomedes of the Scyros Island, also called the Magnetes' Island, or by the Epirote name Dolopes, or also by the name Pelasgian. Having heard that his father had died, he went to Troy, and reinforced the Myrmidons.

Meanwhile a messenger arrived to tell Priam that Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, was arriving from Mysia. (The king had enticed him with many beautiful gifts, and had finally won his support by offering Cassandra in marriage.) [416] Paris hailed him to the fray, 'Glad am I for thy coming, for mine heart trusts that the Argives all shall wretchedly be with their ships

destroyed.' [417] And Eurypylus answered, 'Great-hearted Paris […] I swear to turn from fight never, except in victory or death.' [418]

Eurypylus, Hercules' grandson, chose Paris, Aeneas, Polydamas, Pamos, and Deiphobus as his closest associates. The Achaeans armed the men, and set them in order, and went out to battle. Neoptolemus commanded the centre. [419] When the signal for battle was given, the two sides clashed, and fought with all their might; great numbers were slain. Eurypylus, chancing upon Peneleus, drove him back, and pinned him with his spear; then, he attacked Nireus even more savagely, and cut him down. [420] Against him came Machaon wroth for Nireus. In haste he snatched a huge stone from the ground, and dashed it on the head of Telephus' son, but his helm warded him from death or harm; then, waxed Eurypylus more hotly wroth with that strong warrior, and in fury of soul clear through Machaon's breast he drove his spear, and vaunting cried aloud, 'Wisdom was not bound up in thine heart, that thou, a weakling, didst come forth to fight a mightier.' [421] The dying man answered, 'Eurypylus, […] Fate is at the point to meet thee there on Troy's plain.' [422] Eurypylus spoke, 'What shall betide hereafter, care I not […], though this day death's doom stand by my feet: no man may live for ever: each man's fate is foreordained.' [423]

Teucer, at seeing Machaon in the dust, shouted loud, 'Charge, Argives! […] Shame unspeakable shall cover us if the Trojan men hale back to Ilium noble Machaon and Nireus godlike […] With a good heart let us face the foe to rescue these slain friends, or fall ourselves beside them.' [424] Now neither Atreus' sons might steadfast stand, nor any valiant Danaan beside, for ruinous panic suddenly gripped the hearts of all. [425] Eurypylus had slain Bucolion, Nesus, Chromion, and Antiphus. Men of renown albeit they were, he slew them. Then, he smote a host unnumbered of the common throng. Whereas Aeneas slew Antimachus and Pheres, twain which left Crete with Idomeneus. Agenor smote Molus the princely, – with King Sthenelus he came from Argos. Paris' arrows laid

proud Phorcys low, and Mosynus, brethren both, from Salamins, who came in Aias' ships, and nevermore saw the homeland. **Now the Trojans were ready to burn with fire the ships** . [426]

Eurypylus carried on his offensive, and caused the Achaeans flee in destruction, until in front of him stood Achilles' son, Pyrrhus Neoptolemus. The two of them clashed face to face, and finally, Achilles' son, Pyrrhus, came out victorious, for the Pelian lance, sped onward by a mighty thrust, hath passed clear through Eurypylus' throat. With a triumphant laugh shouted Pyrrhus over him, 'Eurypylus, thou saidst thou wouldst destroy the Danaan ships and men, wouldst slay us all wretchedly – but the Gods would not fulfil thy wish. [427]

'Then, […] we cremated Eurypylus,' Dictys wrote, 'and sent his bones, in an urn, back to his father, for we remembered his father's kindness and friendship. Also, there were separate funerals for Nireus and Peneleus; each was cremated by his own people.' [428] Meanwhile Neoptolemus, now that his father's murder was avenged, began the mourning around Achilles' mound. Along with Phoenix and the entire army of the Myrmidons, he cut off his hair, and placed it on the tomb. Thus, they stayed there all the night. [429]

9.4. Philoctetes kills Paris

Paris and Philoctetes , the best archers in the war, fought a duel that proved fatal for Paris. For 10 years Philoctetes had stayed in the Lemnos Island, after he was abandoned, fettered by the bite of the water snake, from which he recovered later. Towards the end of the war, he arrived in Troy, after Neoptolemus and Odysseus had gone to the island to pick up Hercules' weapons, along with which they took him, as well. Philoctetes advanced against Alexander, and challenged him to fight, if he dared, a duel with the bow. Alexander agreed, and thus, Ulysses and Deiphobus marked off a place for the contest. Alexander was the first to shoot and missed. Philoctetes hit Alexander in the left hand, and then, struck his

right eye. As Alexander was trying to flee, Philoctetes pierced both his feet, and finally finished him off. [430]

Smyrnaeus writes that Alexander was wounded, and was taken to his former wife, Oenone, to heal, for she, according to the then mentality, was a Nymph, and could heal him and save him from death. He bowed down to Oenone, saying, 'O reverenced wife, turn not from me in hate for that I left thee widowed long ago! Not of my will I did it: the strong Fates dragged me to Helen – oh that I had died ere I embraced her – in thine arms had died! All, by the Gods I pray, the Lords of Heaven, by all the memories of our wedded love, be merciful! […] Remove this torment, if thou wilt. Your heart must speak my sentence, to be saved from death or no. Pity me – oh, make haste to pity me! This venom's might is swiftly bringing death! Heal me, while life yet lingers in my limbs! Remember not those pangs of jealousy, nor leave me by a cruel doom to die low fallen at thy feet!' [431]

So prayed he; but her darkly-brooding heart was steeled, and her words mocked his agony, 'You come unto me! – you, who didst leave erewhile a wailing wife in a desolate home! – Didst leave her for thy Tyndarid darling! […] She is better than thy true wife – is, rumor saith, immortal! Make haste to kneel to her but not to me! Weep not to me, nor whimper pitiful prayers! Oh, that mine heart beat with a tigress' strength, that I might tear thy flesh and lap thy blood for all the pain thy folly brought on me! Vile wretch! Where now is Love's Queen glory-crowned? Hath Zeus forgotten his daughter's paramour? Have them for thy deliverers! Get thee hence far from my dwelling, curse of Gods and men! Yea, for through thee, thou miscreant, sorrow came on deathless Gods, for sons and sons' sons slain […] – to your Helen go! Agonize day and night beside her bed.' [432]

Hence, Paris died, and Hecuba and Helen grieved him greatly. Wailing Hecuba said, 'Dead! you dead, O dear child! […] Best of all my sons, save Hector alone, wast you! […] The hand of Heaven is in our sufferings: some Fate devised our ruin – oh that I had lived not to endure it, but had died in days of

wealthy peace! But now I see woes upon woes, and ever look to see worse things – my children slain, my city sacked, and burned with fire by stony-hearted foes, daughters, sons' wives, all Trojan women, haled into captivity with our little ones!' [433] 'Helen took part in the funeral with loud lamentations,' Dares wrote, 'Alexander, she said, had treated her kindly; and thus, she had become like a daughter to Priam and Hecuba, who always made her welcome at Troy, and never let her remember her homeland.' [434] 'Husband, to me, to Troy, and to yourself a bitter blow is this thy woeful death! In misery hast you left me, and I look to see calamities more deadly yet. Oh, that the Spirits of the Storm had snatched me from the earth when first I fared with you drawn by a baleful Fate! […] The Gods have meted ruin to thee and me. With shuddering horror all men look on me, all hate me! Place of refuge is there none for me; for if to the Danaan host I fly, with torments will they greet me. If I stay, Troy's sons and daughters here will compass me and rend me. Earth shall cover not my corpse, but dogs and fowl of ravin shall devour. Oh, had Fate slain me ere I saw these woes!' [435]

Meanwhile his first wife, Oenone, wailed, but in their home, moaning on his bed, 'Woe for my wickedness! O hateful life! I loved mine hapless husband. […] Oh, had the black Fates snatched me from the earth ere I from Paris turned away in hate! My living love hath left me! – yet will I dare to die with him, for I loathe the light.' [436] So cried she, weeping, weeping piteously, remembering him whom death had swallowed up, wasting, as melteth wax before the flame yet secretly, being fearful lest her sire should mark it, or her handmaids till the night rose. She slid the bolts back of the outer doors, and rushed forth like a storm-blast. Fast she ran, seeking the awful pyre, to leap thereon. [437] She raised no wail, the broken-hearted, when she saw him there, but, in her mantle muffling up her face, leapt on the pyre. There burned she, clasping Paris. [438]

Chapter X

THE FALL OF TROY

10.1. Antenor and Aeneas Dardanidi plot treason for surrendering Troy

Prior to the arrival of Philoctetes and Pyrrhus Neoptolemus in Troy, Chalcas, the seer of the Achaeans, opined that Helenus knew the oracles that protected the city. So, Ulysses waylaid and captured him, and brought him to the camp. Helenus was forced to tell the Achaeans how Ilium could be taken, to wit, first, if the bones of Pelops were brought to them; next, if Neoptolemus fought for them; and third, if the Palladium were stolen from Troy, for, while it was within the walls, the city could not be taken. [439] Accordingly, the Achaeans, 'caused the bones of Pelops to be fetched, and they sent Ulysses and Phoenix to Lycomedes at Scyros, and these two persuaded him to let Neoptolemus go.' [440] Chalcas added that Hercules' arms should be fetched; so, they went also to the Lesbos Island to receive Hercules' arms from Philoctetes, who had them. Ulysses went with Diomedes secretly by night to the city of Troy as a beggar, and stole away the Palladium, and brought it to the ships with the aid of Diomedes. At that time, it was believed that the Palladium was an ancient statue in the temple of Minerva; it was made of wood, and had fallen from heaven. [441] Hence, all the required prophetic conditions were satisfied.

Meanwhile, at Troy, the Elders' Council was convened, for all the Trojan nobles, since they saw the enemy raging more and more fiercely around their walls, and knew that their own resources were failing, felt that further resistance was hopeless. Having summoned Aeneas and the sons of Antenor, they were planning to return Helen to Menelaus, along with the things that had been carried off. [442] On the other hand, Priam himself, too, seeing that the situation was getting critical with each passing day, before the Elders' Council ordered Antenor to go to the Achaeans, and seek an end to the war. [443] 'When Antenor signalled from the walls that the Trojans

desired to negotiate, we granted permission,' Dictys wrote. 'Thus, he came to the ships, and we welcomed him gladly. Nestor, especially, told how faithful and kind he had been to the Greeks [Achaeans]: his counsel and the aid of his sons had saved Menelaus from Trojan treachery. In return for what he had done, we promised to reward him richly when Troy was destroyed, and urged him to work with us.' [444] Antenor went to the Achaeans on order by his king; however, instead of negotiating a peace agreement as a diplomat, he sided with the Achaeans, to betray his fatherland, for the purpose of his personal interests. Antenor's intention was to take power and a part of Priam's wealth.

In a long speech, Antenor told how the gods were always punishing Trojan rulers for ill-considered acts. Laomedon, he said, had lied to Hercules – a famous story – and thus, his kingdom had been destroyed. Then, through the influence of Hesione, Priam, who was still young and had had no share in all that had happened, had come to power; thereafter, becoming evil and foolish, he had been accustomed to attack everyone; he had killed and committed personal injuries, being sparing of his own property, while seeking that of another. Antenor went on to say that, 'he himself was a very different person from Priam.' He pointed out that the Trojans and Achaeans were related to one another **'by the same line of descent** .' 'But Priam,' according to him, 'had disregarded every bond of kinship.' 'When he had finished this speech, he asked us to choose representatives for the purpose of talking with him about peace; as this was the reason the Trojan Elders had sent him. Accordingly,' Dictys wrote, 'we chose Agamemnon, Idomeneus, Ulysses, and Diomedes. Thereupon these plotted together, in secret, and decided, among other things, that Aeneas, contingent upon his remaining faithful, should share the spoils, nor should his house be harmed in any way; as for Antenor, half of Priam's wealth should be given to him; and one of his sons, whomever he chose, should rule over Troy.' [445]

When they felt that their plans were complete, Antenor was sent back to Troy to make a report far different from what they had really decided. He was to say that, providing they recovered Helen and received some gold, the Greeks were too glad to abandon the war, and return to their people. Thus, Antenor went off to Troy, accompanied by Talthybius, whose presence might help to produce an illusion of trust. [446] In the morning, Antenor and Talthybius went to the meeting of the Council. The elders were already there, eager to find some end to their dreadful afflictions. At last, Antenor, having been ordered to tell what he had heard from the Achaeans, spoke as follows, 'It is a sad thing, Trojan princes and Trojan allies, it is a said thing for us to be at war with the Greeks [Achaeans], but it is an even sadder thing and more painful thing that, for the sake of a woman, we have made enemies of the closest friends, of those, who, being descendants of Pelops, are joined to us even by ties of marriage. If I may briefly touch on the past evils we have suffered, when has our city ever found rest, once it was lost in this quagmire of sorrows? When have we ever been without tears? […] And, to sum up the rest of our sorrows with a personal allusion, what suffering have I not endured in the case of Glaucus, my son? His death, however, was not so painful to me as the fact that he had accompanied Alexander in the abduction of Helen. But enough of the past. Let us […] look to the future with caution and wisdom. […] The Greeks [Achaeans] were not so rash as to declare war against us until we had treated their envoys […] with treachery and guile. It is my opinion that Priam and his sons were to blame in this matter, and also Antimachus, who has recently paid for his guilt with the loss of his sons. But the real blame for everything that has happened rests upon Helen, that woman whom not even the Greeks [Achaeans] really want to recover. Why should we keep this woman? […] Shall we not be reconciled with such men at least in the future? For my own part, I am leaving; I am going away. I refuse to share in these crimes any longer. There was a time when it was pleasing to live in this city; until now we had allies and friends; our relatives were safe, our country unharmed. But now we have

partially or totally lost all of these things. […] Until now, it is true, we have found some way to bury our dead; the enemy granted this favor. But now the altars and shrines of the gods have been […] desecrated with human blood. And thus, being unable to hold our dear one's funerals, we will suffer even more than when they died. At least prevent this from happening now. Our native land must be redeemed with gold and other ransom of this sort. There are many in our city, who are rich; each must give whatever he can. […] Let us give even the ornaments of our temples, if otherwise we cannot save our city. As for Priam, let only him keep all his wealth, let only him consider his riches more important than his people, let him […] have even the things they carried off with Helen, and see how best to use his country's sorrows. Now our sins have found us out, and we are conquered.' [447]

He was weeping as he spoke these things, and everyone was mourning. Stretching their hands toward heaven, they showed their agreement, praying, individually and together, that Priam, in view of their many adversities, should bring an end to their miseries. And finally, with one voice, they shouted that their native land must be redeemed. Then, Priam, tearing his hair and weeping in a pitiable way, addressed them. Now, he said, he was not only hated by the gods, but was even considered a public enemy by his own people. Formerly he had friends, relatives, and fellow citizens to comfort him in his misfortunes, but now none was to be found. He had wanted to begin negotiations when Alexander and Hector were living and not wait until now. No one, however, was able to remedy the past; they must plan for the present, and put their hopes in the future. He offered all that he had for the redemption of Troy, and instructed Antenor to see to that matter. But now, since they hated him so, he was leaving their presence. Whatever they decided to do was agreeable to him. [448]

'When the king had left, they decided that Antenor should return to the Achaeans, and learn what terms they wanted exactly; and that Aeneas, as he desired, should go along, too. Thus, the Council broke up. About midnight, Helen came to

Antenor secretly. She suspected that they were about to return her to Menelaus, and feared that she would be punished for having abandoned her home. Accordingly, she begged him to mention her, when he spoke among the Achaeans, and plead in her behalf. Now that Alexander was dead, she hated all Troy, as they knew, and wanted to return to her people. At daybreak, Antenor and Aeneas came to the ships, and told us all about their city's decision. Then, they withdrew with those they had talked to before, to plan what action to take. It was during these discussions about Troy and their nation that they also told about Helen's desires, and asked forgiveness for her; and finally, they agreed on how best to betray their city.' [449]

10.2. The terms of peace are discussed

When they were ready, they returned to Troy, accompanied by Ulysses and Diomedes. 'The hopes of all Trojans were raised when they saw that our leaders had come,' Dictys wrote. 'A meeting of the Council was quickly called, and there, in the presence of our men, they decided, first of all, to exile Antimachus from all of Phrygia, for he, to be sure, was the cause of their terrible troubles. Then, they began to discuss the terms of peace.' [450] During their discussions, a huge crash and much shouting suddenly arose from Pergamum, where Priam's palace was located. Those in the Council, being thrown into confusion, ran outside, and thinking that the princes, as usual, had done some treacherous deed, they rushed to the temple of Minerva. Soon afterwards, however, they learned, from those who came from the citadel, that the sons of Alexander, his children by Helen, had perished, crushed when the roof of their home had collapsed. The names of these sons were Bunomus, Corythus, and Idaeus. [451] It is highly suspicious that the death of the children Paris had by Helen was accidental.

'Three days later, Idaeus came and summoned our leaders (those mentioned above),' Dictys wrote. 'Panthus and the other Trojans, who were known for their wisdom, made long speeches in which they explained that their previous actions

had been rash and ill-advised. They had been constrained, they said, to act according to the will of the princes, by whom they were hated and counted as naught, and that they should be willing to confer with those, who had always been hoping for peace. Moreover, the Trojans had already suffered enough for their ill-advised acts.' [452]

Diomedes asked for five thousand talents of gold, and a like number of silver, besides one hundred thousand measures of wheat, for a period of ten years. [453] This was a huge amount for the time, for 5,000 talents of gold were quite a sum, given that, at the time, one talent varied between 26 kg and 33 kg. Antenor said that, since what they demanded was impossible, it was evident that they were planning for war under a pretext of peace. The Trojans must shut their gates, and burn the temples of their gods, and offer themselves and their country to one and the same destruction. Diomedes answered, 'We did not come from Argos to give special terms to Troy, but to fight you to death. Therefore, if you are still desirous of war, the Greeks [Achaeans] are ready, or if, as you say, you wish to burn your city, we will not prevent you. The Greeks [Achaeans], when treated unjustly, take vengeance. That is their way.' [454]

Then, the Trojans asked for a day's reprieve during which to ponder the Achaean proposal. 'With the coming of dawn, the Trojan Council met. When our envoys had entered,' Dictys wrote, 'Antenor […] begged their forgiveness for having previously spoken so boldly against them […]. Ulysses replied that he was not disturbed by this so much as by the fact that negotiations were being prolonged, especially when the favorable time for sailing was quickly passing. After a long discussion, they finally agreed on a sum of two thousand talents of gold and two thousand of silver. Then, our envoys returned to the ships to make their report to our men.' [455] However, no agreement was made about Helen's return, which was also the pretext of the war, for her return was seemingly considered beyond discussion.

‘Meanwhile ten leaders were chosen to go to Troy, and ratify the terms of peace: Diomedes, Ulysses, Idomeneus, Ajax, the son of Telamon (he had died by this time – author’s note), Nestor, Meriones, Thoas, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus, and Eumelus. The Trojans, seeing our men in their public square, rejoiced, believing that now their afflictions would end. Individually and in groups, whenever they met them, they greeted them warmly, and embraced them like loved ones. […] When dinnertime came, the Trojans held a public banquet in honour of the Greeks [Achaeans], and in celebration of the peace they were making. Antenor was host and graciously served every need of our men. At daybreak, all the elders convened in the temple of Minerva, and Antenor officially announced that ten envoys had been sent by the Greeks [Achaeans] to ratify the terms of peace. Thereupon, the envoys were escorted into the Council, and they and the elders shook hands. It was decided to ratify the peace on the following day. Sacred oaths must be sworn, for the purpose of which altars must be raised in the centre of the plain, where all could see.’ [456]

‘When preparations had been made, Diomedes and Ulysses were first to swear. Calling on Highest Jupiter (Zeus – author’s note), Mother Earth, Sun, Moon, and Ocean to be their witnesses, they promised to abide by the agreements, which they had made with Antenor. Then, they walked through the centre of the portions of the sacrificial victims. (Two victims had been brought, the portions of which had been laid out, half in an easterly direction, and half in the direction of our ships.) Diomedes and Ulysses were followed by Antenor, who took the same oath. After ratifying the terms of peace in this way, both sides returned to their people. […] And the Trojan allies – who were still alive – went home, taking advantage of the treaty, and feeling thankful for peace, not even waiting to be paid for their hardships and troubles, fearing, no doubt, that the barbarians would somehow break the agreements.’ [457]

10.3. Troy is taken treacherously and destroyed

Under the agreement, after the war was over and the amount of gold and silver was paid, the Achaeans should have departed, without causing any trouble to the Trojans, but they had no intention of doing so. Though the Trojans gave them a huge amount of gold and silver, the Achaeans still wanted to avenge against them to the very end, and this is a breach of an international agreement, as well as of the sacred oaths, which was in disregard of their religious belief. At Troy, Antenor and Aeneas were making sure that the exact amount of gold and silver, in accordance with the terms of the peace, was carried to the temple of Minerva. [458]

The Achaeans went on with their plan to destroy Troy, both in treacherous and perfidious ways. Hence, two variants are recounted how the gates of the city of Troy were opened, with one indicating that they were opened from within, and the other providing that they were deceitfully opened from outside to let the Wooden Horse, with soldiers in its interior, pass through.

The variant, according to which the gates were opened by the very leaders of Troy, is furnished by the Trojan author, Dares of Phrygia. It is not clear why this had to be done, when an agreement was actually concluded, and a huge amount of gold and silver was paid as ransom for the war. Why should these leaders have agreed to kill their own people? According to Dares, Antenor, Polydamas, Ucalegon, and Dolon met in secret. Antenor had a plan for solving their problem, and if the others would swear allegiance, he would reveal it. When all had sworn as he wished, he first sent word to Aeneas, and then, told them his plan. They must, as he said, betray their country, and in such a way that they might safeguard themselves and their families. Someone must go – someone that no one could suspect – and tell Agamemnon. They must act quickly. He feared that the king was devising some treachery. All promised their aid, and immediately chose Polydamas – he would arouse least suspicion – to go in secret and see Agamemnon. Thus, Polydamas, having gone to the camp of the Achaeans, saw Agamemnon, and told him the

plan. [459] Their agreement being complete in every detail, Polydamas returned to the city, and reported the success of his mission. Antenor, Aeneas, and all their associates, he said, must go by night to the Scaean Gate, and raise a torch, and thus, welcome the Greeks [Achaeans]. That night, Antenor and Aeneas were ready at the gate, and let Neoptolemus in. After raising the torch, they looked to a means of escape for themselves and their people. [460] Antenor, with Neoptolemus providing protection, led the way to the palace, to the point where the Trojans had posted a guard. [461] This is Dares' variant how the gates of Troy were opened by the traitors of Troy.

The variant according to which the wooden horse was dragged into the city

The classical variant is about the building of the wooden horse. It was Ulysses the one who put the idea of drawing the wooden horse, with soldiers inside, into the city. Ulysses proposed to build a wooden horse, and suggested that to Epeus, who was an architect. According to Dictys, during this time, Epeus, following Helenus' advice, was directing the building of the wooden horse. [462] Hence, there are two different opinions around the proposal for building the horse; however, the most convincing one is that this was Ulysses' plan. He addressed the Achaeans, 'O friends, now is the secret ambush prepared, by human hands but by the counsels of Athena. Do ye which have most trust in the might of your hands, heartily follow me with valiant mind and enduring soul; for it is not seemly that we should abide here a long time […]. Rather should we […] do some deed worthy to be sung, or by bloody death escape the shameful reproach of cowardice.' [463] 'Cast fire upon the plaited tents, and leaving desolate the shore of the land of Ilios, sail ye all together on your pretended homeward way; until the hour that to you, gathered on the neighboring beach, a beacon at eventide […] shall give the signal to sail back again.' [464] '[…] If doomed it be indeed that Priam's burg by guile must fall […], a great horse let us fashion, in which our mightiest shall take ambush. […] They

believe, and drag it, their own doom, within the town. Then shall war's signal unto us be given – to them at sea, by sudden flash of torch […], when unsuspecting sleep the sons of Troy.' [465] All approved this guile and trickery of Odysseus, except for Achilles's son, Pyrrhus Neoptolemus. He said, 'Brave men meet face to face their foes! Who skulk behind their walls, and fight from towers, [have] hearts palsied with fear. […] The great war-travail of the spear beseems true heroes. Best in battle are the brave.' [466] The only one to give ear to Pyrrhus was Philoctetes, for all the others shared Ulysses' opinion to take Troy by guile.

Epeus felled timber on Ida, and constructed the horse with a hollow interior and an opening in the sides. [467] Epeus finished the horse, into which soldiers would enter, and wheels were put beneath its feet to make it easier to draw along. Once the construction of the horse was completed, Ulysses called on the Achaeans to enter it, 'Now, with hearts heroic, enter ye yon carven horse, so to attain the goal of this stern war.' [468] To stir up the heroes, Nestor cried, 'Now is the time, dear sons, for courage and strength: now do the Gods bring nigh the end of toil: now give they victory to our longing hands. Come, bravely enter ye this cavernous horse.' [469] Neoptolemus answered, 'Nestor, in wisdom art thou chief of men […]. We will take ambush, we the youths, of strife insatiate still, as thou, old sire, dost bid.' [470] 'Ay, gladlier would I fall with glory in fight than flee from Troy, bowed 'neath a load of shame.' [471]

Into that cavernous horse Achilles' son first entered, strong Menelaus followed then, Odysseus, Sthenelus, godlike Diomede, Philoctetes, and Menestheus, Anticlus, Thoas, and Polypoetes golden-haired, Aias, Eurypylus, godlike Thrasymede, Idomeneus, Meriones, Podaleirius, Eurymachus, Teucer the godlike, fierce Ialmenus, Thalpius, Antimachus, Leonteus staunch, Eumelus, and Euryalus fair as a God, Amphimachus, Demophoon, Agapenor, Acamas, and Meges, Phyleus' son. Last of all passed in Epeus, the fashioner of the horse, who knew the secret of the opening of its doors and of

their closing. Therefore, last of all he entered, and drew the ladders up whereby they clomb. He made all secure, and set himself by the bolt. So, all in silence sat towards victory or death. [472] Hence, 29 of the mightiest from among the Achaeans, as well as the architect, which made 30 of them, set foot in the horse. Then, the son of Atreus bade the Achaeans undo the fence of stone, wherewith the horse was hidden. He wished to let it be uncovered that, shining afar, it might send the message of its beauty unto all men. And at the bidding of their king they dug it up. [473]

'The Trojans were told to receive it religiously as a sacred offering to Minerva. They poured from their gates, and joyously welcomed the horse. A sacrifice was made, and they drew it nearer the city. When, however, they saw that the horse was too large to pass through their gates, they decided, their enthusiasm blinding them to any objections, to tear down their walls. Thus, they all joined in, and tore down their walls, those walls, which had stood for centuries unharmed, and which, as tradition told, were the masterwork of Neptune and Apollo. When the work of demolition was almost complete, the Greeks [Achaeans] purposely caused a delay. We said,' Dictys wrote, 'that the Trojans must pay the gold and silver they had promised before they could draw the horse into Troy. Thus, there was an interval of time, during which, the walls being half demolished, Ulysses hired all of the Trojan carpenters to help repair the ships. When our fleet had thus been put in order, along with all of our sailing gear, and when the gold and silver had been paid, we ordered the Trojans to continue their work of destruction. As soon as a part of the walls was down, a crowd of joking men and women merrily hastened to draw the horse within their city.' [474]

They themselves burned their tents, leaving Sinon, who was to light a beacon as a signal to them. [475] Nestor and Agamemnon were to command the fleet. So came they swiftly unto Tenedos' shore. [476] Sinon was tortured, and had his nose and ears stripped, until he should declare the truth, whither were gone the Danaans in their ships, what had happened, what

thing the horse concealed within it, and still he told them the same guileful tale, ‘The Argives in their ships flee oversea weary of tribulation of endless war. This horse by Calchas’ counsel fashioned they for wise Athena, to propitiate her stern wrath for that guardian image stol’n from Troy. And by Odysseus’ prompting I was marked for slaughter, to be sacrificed to the sea-powers, beside the moaning waves, to win them safe return. But their intent I marked; and ere they spilt the drops of wine, and sprinkled hallowed meal upon mine head, swiftly I fled.’ [477]

And of the Trojans some believed him, whereas Laocoon, the priest, and Cassandra for a wily knave held him. Wisely Laocoon spoke, ‘A deadly fraud is this, devised by the Achaean chiefs!’ And cried to all straightway to burn the horse, and know if aught within its timbers lurked. [478] Laocoon shouted, ‘O unhappy citizens, what madness? Do you think the enemy’s sailed away? Or do you think any Danaan gift’s free of treachery? Is that Ulysses’ reputation?’ He went on, ‘Trojans, don’t trust this horse. Whatever it is, I’m afraid of Danaans even those bearing gifts.’ [479] Laocoon was afterwards found dead, as well as all of his sons. Cassandra, likewise, shrieked, ‘Fools! Ye know not your doom. […] And ye, ye are banqueting there in your last feast.’ [480] She snatched a brand of blazing pine-wood from the hearth, and ran in fury: in the other hand she bare a two-edged halberd: on the Horse of Doom she rushed, to cause the Trojans to behold with their own eyes the ambush hidden there. But straightway from her hands they plucked and flung afar the fire and steel, and turned to the feast; for darkened over them their last night. Within the horse, the Argives joyed to hear the uproar of Troy’s feasters, but they marveled that she knew so well the Achaeans’ purpose and device. [481]

And when they thought that their foes were asleep, they opened the horse, and came forth with their arms. They let themselves down by a rope, and lighted on the walls, and opened the gates. [482] On the other hand, the walls had been demolished when the horse was dragged into the town.

Apollodorus wrote, ‘Sinon kindled the beacon on the grave of Achilles to guide them.’ [483] Quickly they killed the night guards [then kept the tower gates open to admit their comrades]. And when they beheld the gleam of the beacon on high, the Argives speedily set back their ships on the path of return, and every mariner made haste, seeking to find an end to the long war. So, the ships, swifter than the speedy winds, with obedient rush sailed unto Ilios. The foot soldiers went in front, while the horsemen fell behind, in order that the horses might not rouse the people of Troy by their loud neighing. [484]

‘Soon we had entered the walls, and divided the city among us,’ Dictys wrote. ‘At a given signal, we slaughtered whomever we found – in homes, on streets, in places sacred and profane. Some of the Trojans awoke, but these were cut down before they could […] think of a way to escape. There was, in short, no end to death and slaughter. […] The buildings of the city were set on fire and destroyed; the only homes to be saved were those of Aeneas and Antenor, where guards had been posted. Priam, seeing what was happening, fled to the altar of Jupiter [Zeus] that stood in front of the palace. And many members of the royal family fled to other shrines of the gods; Cassandra, for instance, went to the temple of Minerva. All who fell into the hands of the enemy died cruelly, without anyone to avenge them.’ [485]

Priam recognised Achilles’ son coming his way, and spoke to him, ‘Fierce-hearted son of Achilles strong in war, slay me, and pity not my misery. I have no will to see the sun’s light more […]. With my sons would I die, and so forget anguish and horror of war. Oh, that thy sire had slain me, ere mine eyes beheld aflame Ilium, had slain me when I brought to him ransom for Hector, whom thy father slew. He spared me […]. But thou, glut with my blood thy fierce heart, and let me forget my pain.’ Answered Neoptolemus, ‘Fain am I, yea, in haste to grant thy prayer. A foe like thee will I not leave alive; for naught is dearer unto men than life.’ [486] With one stroke swept he off that hoary head lightly. With lips murmuring low it rolled afar from where with quivering limbs the body lay

amidst dark-purple blood and slaughtered men. So lay he, chiefest once of all the world in lineage, wealth, in many and goodly sons.' [487] Dictys wrote, 'Neoptolemus, with no respect for old age or the office of king, slaughtered Priam, both of whose hands were clutching the altar.' [488] Priam, that father of so many princes, lay unentombed and lacked a funeral torch, though Troy was burning. [489] 'And Ajax, the son of Oileus, dragged off Cassandra from the temple of Minerva to be his captive. […] But still there were those, who were seeking protection at the altars of gods. We decided unanimously,' Dictys wrote, 'to pull them away and kill them; so great was our lust for vengeance, and our will to destroy the power of the Trojans. Accordingly, those who had escaped the slaughter of the previous night, those trembling sheep, were slaughtered. And, as is usual in war, we pillaged the temples and half-burned houses, and for many a day hunted down any of the enemy, who might have escaped. Places were designated, where objects of gold and of silver and costly garments were brought.' [490]

Tryphiodorus wrote, 'They had no regard even to the gods, but with most lawless onset they defiled with blood the innocent altars of the immortals. And old men most piteous were slain in most unworthy slaughter: slain not on their feet, but, stretching on the ground their suppliant limbs, they had their grey heads laid low. And many infant children were snatched from the mother's breast that had suckled them but a little while, and, understanding not, paid for the sins of their parents.' [491] Hence, both the elderly and the children, who cannot be harmed in a war, were spared in the merciless massacre.

The only noble homes, being spared and survived, were precisely those of Antenor and Aeneas Dardanidi and of some of their faithful people. This shows that they had agreed to commit treason, so as to save themselves and their families. As Quintus Smyrnaeus wrote about Antenor , 'The Argives rendered hospitality's debt, for that in time past had his roof received and sheltered godlike Menelaus, when he with

Odysseus came to claim his own. Therefore, the mighty sons of Achaea showed grace to him, as to a friend, and spared his life and substance, fearing Themis, who seeth all.' [492] As well as Antenor, under the agreement Aeneas must also be protected, for he, too, was a part of the plot. Calchas ordered the Achaeans, 'Forbear against Aeneas' noble head to hurl the bitter dart, the deadly spear! Fated he is by the high Gods' decree to pass from Xanthus, and by Tiber's flood to found a city holy and glorious through all time, and to rule o'er tribes of men far-sundered. Of his seed shall lords of earth rule from the rising to the setting sun. Yea, with the Immortals ever shall he dwell, who is son of Aphrodite lovely-tressed.' [493]

'When we were sated with Trojan blood, and the city was burned to the ground,' Dictys wrote, 'we divided the booty, in payment of our military service, beginning with the captive women and children. First of all, Helen was freely given to Menelaus; then, Polyxena, at the request of Ulysses, was given to Neoptolemus, to sacrifice to Achilles; Cassandra was given to Agamemnon (he had been so moved by her beauty that, in spite of himself, he had openly said that he loved her); and Aethra and Clymene were given to Demophoon and Acamas. The other women were apportioned by lot, and thus, Andromache fell to Neoptolemus (to honour whose greatness, we further allowed Andromache's sons to accompany her); and Hecuba fell to Ulysses. After enslaving the women of royal birth, we allotted booty and captives to the rest of our men *in proportion as they deserved* .' [494]

10.4. Menelaus reconciles with Helen

Dictys wrote, 'At daybreak, our forces came to the house where Helen was living with Deiphobus. He had taken her to wife when Alexander had died. Now Menelaus tortured him to death, brutally cutting him to pieces, lopping off ears, and arms, and nose, and so forth.' [495] 'But she had fled and hidden her in the palace.' [496] In the inner rooms, Menelaus found his wife finally. He said to Hecuba, 'To Troy I came, not so much as men suppose to take this woman, but to punish him, who

from my house stole my wife, traitor to my hospitality.' Helen said, 'My death, if to die I am, will be unjust?' Menelaus replied, 'I came not to argue, but to slay thee.' [497] And suddenly had he forgotten all her sins against her spousal-troth. Yet even so he lifted up from earth his sword, and made as he would rush upon his wife, but other was his intent, even as he sprang: he did but feign, to cheat Achaean eyes. Then did his brother Agamemnon spoke, 'Forbear wrath, Menelaus, now; 'twere shame to slay thy wedded wife, for whose sake we have suffered much affliction, while we sought vengeance on Priam. Not, as thou dost deem, was Helen's the sin, but his who set at naught the Guest-lord, and thine hospitable board; so with death-pangs hath God requited him.' [498]

Helen raised no lamentation: shame sat on her dark-blue eyes, and cast its flush over her lovely cheeks. The Achaeans might mishandle her. Therefore, with fluttering soul she trembled sore; and, her head darkly mantled in her veil, close-following trod she in her husband's steps, with cheek shame-crimsoned, like the Queen of Love. Tangled there she lay in agony of shame, but the folk all around marvelled to see the glory of loveliness of that all-flawless woman. No man dared or secretly or openly to cast reproach on her. As on a Goddess all gazed on her with adoring wistful eyes. [499]

When left alone, Helen first broke the silence, and she said, 'O Menelaus, be not wroth with me! Not of my will I left thy roof, thy bed, nut Alexander and the sons of Troy came upon me, and snatched away, when thou wast far thence. […] For the sake of olden love, and for thine own sake, I beseech thee now, forget thy stern displeasure against thy wife.' [500] Menelaus answered her, 'No more remember past griefs: seal them up hid in thine heart; let all be locked within the dim dark mansion of forgetfulness. What profits it to call ill deeds to mind?' [501] Glad was she then: fear flitted from her heart, and came sweet hope that her lord's wrath was dead. She cast her arms around him, and their eyes with tears were brimming as they made sweet moan; and side by side they laid then, and their hearts thrilled with remembrance of old spousal joy. [502]

10.5. Death afflicts Astyanax, the son of Hector

The Achaeans committed two ugly crimes against two innocent human beings of this war before they left. Astyanax, the son of Hector and Andromache, and Polyxena were submitted to death. Seeing that the weather was not good for them to go back home, Agamemnon asked Calchas what was the God's will to free the Pelasgian fleet from bonds, and end the wars' delays. [503] This was the answer of Calchas the soothsayer, 'A maiden must be sacrificed on the Thessalian chieftain's tomb. […] But it is not this cause alone which delays our ships; blood nobler than thy blood, Polyxena, is due. Whom the fates seek, from the high watch-tower let him fall, Priam's grandson, Hector's son, and let him perish there.' [504]

Hence, the decision was taken to kill Astyanax, the little son of Hector. On hearing the news, Andromache started to wail. Seneca described her lamentation in the following words, 'O son, true offspring of a mighty sire, sole hope of Phrygians, sole comfort of our stricken house, child of an ancient, too illustrious line, too like thy father, thou: such features my Hector had, such was he in gait, such in bearing; so carried he his brave hands, so bore he his shoulders high, such august, commanding look had he.' [505] Andromache thought of hiding her son in Hector's tomb. Ulysses came to see her, and advised her of the decision about sacrificing her son, and of the reasons. According to him, 'The embers of a great fire, carelessly left behind, regain their strength. […] A great matter moves the forebodings of the Danaï – another Hector. […] And think me not cruel because, at the bidding of the lot, I seek Hector's son; I would have sought Orestes.' [506] Andromache tried to deceive him, but Ulysses replied, ''tis not easy for thee to deceive Ulysses. […] Away with vain designs; where is thy son?' [507] Andromache insisted, and told Ulysses, ' Rejoice, ye sons of Atreus, and do thou bear joyful tidings to the Pelasgians, as is thy wont – Hector's son is dead .' [508] 'My son, deprived of light, lies amongst the dead and, given to the tomb, has received the due of those who live no more.' [509] Ulysses ordered, 'This enemy, hidden away by his mother's

guile, this last plague of the Pelasgian name, wherever he is hiding, hunt him out and bring him hither.' [510] Even though they looked out for him, they did not find him, for no one would think she had hidden her son in Hector's tomb.

Then, they caused Andromache face new difficulties. Since the boy cannot fulfil the priest's command, the word of Calchas requested that Hector's ashes be scattered, and his tomb be utterly leveled with the ground. [511] Ulysses told Andromache, 'I will fulfil the oracle; the tomb will I raze to its foundations.' [512] While the men began to demolish the tomb, she cast herself at the knees of Ulysses, 'At thy knees I fall, a suppliant, Ulysses, […] I lay upon thy feet. Pity a mother, calmly and patiently listen to her pious prayers, and the higher the gods have exalted thee, the more gently bear down upon the fallen. […] Pity a mother. This one only comfort is left in my affliction.' [513] But Ulysses was eager to do his job, and said to her, 'Produce thy son,' and she asked her son to come out from his father's tomb, 'Hither from the hiding-place come out, sad object of a wretched mother's theft.' [514] 'Here he is, Ulysses, here is the terror of a thousand ships!' Andromache advised her son to ask for mercy, 'Lower thy hands and, prone at thy master's feet, pray thou with appealing touch. […] Forget thy royal ancestry, the illustrious sway of thy noble grandsire o'er all lands, forget Hector, too; play the captive and on bended knee, if thou feelst not yet thine own doom, copy thy mother's tears.' [515]

Ulysses answered , ***'The grief of a stricken mother moves me, true, and yet the Pelasgian mothers move me more*** , to whose great sorrow that boy of thine is growing.' [516] Andromache answered, 'What greater revenge couldst thou seek? Let the yoke of bondage be placed upon his high-born neck.' [517] Ulysses blamed Calchas for this, but suspicious Andromache said to him, ' *O thou contriver of fraud, cunning master in crime, by whose warlike prowess none has ever fallen, by whose tricks and by cunning of whose vicious mind even Pelasgians are undone, dost seek to hide behind seer and blameless gods? This is the deed of thine own heart* .' [518]

Seneca picks up on Andromache's last weeping, before they snatched her son from her, 'O sweet pledge of love, O glory of our fallen house, last loss of Troy, thou terror of the Danaï, thy mother's vain hope. […] God has denied my prayers. Thou shalt not with kingly might wield Ilum's sceptre in thy royal hall, shalt not give laws unto the nations, nor send conquered tribes beneath thy yoke. […] [Nor] shalt thou at Phrygian shrines celebrate the ancient dance. O mode of death sadder than cruel war! A sight more tearful than great Hector's death shall the walls behold.' [519] 'For my tears, Ulysses, the respite I ask is small; grant me a few tears yet, that with my own hand I may close his eyes while he still lives.' [520] 'My child! my own sweet babe and priceless treasure! thy death the foe demands, and thou must leave thy wretched mother. […] O the woeful wedding rites, that brought me erst to Hector's home, hoping to be the mother of a son that should rule o'er Asia's fruitful fields instead of serving as a victim to the sons of Danaus! […] Hector will not rise again and come gripping his famous spear to bring thee salvation; no kinsman of thy sire appears. […] Kiss thy mother now for the last time […], twine thy arms about my neck, and join thy lips to mine! […] O ye Hellenes [Achaeans], cunning to devise new forms of cruelty, why slay this child who never wronged any?' [521] 'Why clingest thou to my breast, and graspest the vain protection of thy mother's hands? […] So shall thy enemy snatch thee from my breast. Now, son, take my kisses and tears, take my torn locks and, full of me, hasten to thy sire. […] [Take] all that is left from my poor husband's funeral, take kisses to deliver to thy sire.' [522] [To his attendants] Ulysses said, 'There is no limit to her weeping – away with this hindrance to the Argive fleet.' [523] Thus snatched they the son of Andromache from her arms.

Now along the plain, on every hand thronged with people, with stately step the Ithacan makes his way, leading by the hand the little grandson of Priam; and with no lagging step does the boy approach the lofty walls. When he stood on the tower's summit, he turned his keen gaze now here, now there, undaunted in spirit. He had moved the crowd to tears, and the

chieftains, and even Ulysses. Of all the throng he alone, for whom they wept, wept not; and while Ulysses rehearsed the words and prayers appointed by the fate-revealing priest, and summoned the cruel gods to the sacrifice, of his own will leaped the boy down into the midst of Priam's kingdom. [524]

10.6. Polyxena is sacrificed

After Hector's son fell headlong from the lofty tower, and the throng of the Achaeans wept for the crime it wrought, that same host turned to a second crime and to Achilles' tomb. [525] In Neoptolemus' dream appeared his father Achilles, who spoke to him, 'To my tomb be Priam's daughter Polyxena led – whom as my portion of the spoil I claim – and sacrificed thereon: else shall my wrath against them more than for Briseis burn.' [526] He assembled the Achaeans, and told his sire's behest, 'To me spoken in darkness slumbering on my bed: he saith, he dwells with the Immortal Gods: he biddeth you and Atreus' son the king to bring, as his war-guerdon passing-fair, to his dim dark tomb Polyxena queenly-robed, to slay her there, but far thence bury her. […] He threateneth to stir up the waves to bar your path upon the deep, and here storm-bound long time to hold you.' [527]

Agamemnon did not agree to sacrificing Polyxena, for it reminded him of his daughter Iphigenia, whom he saved, but the army never knew she was not sacrificed. He told Neoptolemus, 'Ungoverned violence is a fault of youth; in the case of others 'tis the first fervour of their years that sweeps them on, but with Pyrrhus 'tis his father's heat. The blustering airs and threats of arrogant Aeacides I once bore unmoved. *The greater the might, the more should be the patience to endure* .' [528] 'The higher Fortune *has raised and exalted the might of man, the more does it become him to be modest in prosperity, to tremble at shifting circumstance, and to fear the gods when they are overkind* . That greatness can be in a moment overthrown I have learned by conquering. Does Troy make us too arrogant and bold? […] In the past, I grant, I have been headstrong in government and borne myself too haughtily; but such pride has been broken. […] Thou, Priam,

mak'st me proud – and fearful, too.' [529] 'I wished to see the Phrygians beaten down and conquered; but overthrown and razed to the ground – would that I could have spared them that. […] All that can survive of ruined Troy let it survive. That a royal maid should fall, be offered to a tomb, should water the ashes of the dead, and that men should call foul murder marriage, I will not permit. The blame of all comes back on me; he who, when he may, forbids not sin, commands it.' [530]

Pyrrhus asked, 'And shall Achilles' ghost gain no reward?' [531] Agamemnon answered, 'It shall; all shall sing his praises and unknown lands shall hear his mighty name. But if his dust can be appeased only by on-poured blood, let Phrygian cattle, rich spoil, be slain, and let blood flow, which will cause no mother's tears. What custom this? When was a human victim offered up in honor of human dead? Save thy father from scorn and hate, whom thou art bidding us honor by a maiden's death.' [532] But Pyrrhus was determined to sacrifice Polyxena, and said to Agamemnon, 'With this right hand will I give Achilles the victim due. If thou dost refuse and keep her from me, a greater will I give, worthy the gift of Pyrrhus; too long has my hand refrained from killing kings, and Priam claims his peer.' [533] Thus, Pyrrhus threatened to kill Agamemnon, a thing that Achilles had never done. Ironically and mockingly Agamemnon spoke to him, 'Nay, I deny not that 'tis Pyrrhus' most glorious deed of war that Priam lies slain by thy brutal sword, and he thy father's suppliant.' [534]

Having slain Priam though, Pyrrhus thought, ''Tis a high, a kingly act to give life to a king.' [535] 'The merciful will oft give death instead of life.' [536] Agamemnon answered, 'And is it now in mercy thou sleekest a maiden for the tomb?' [537] 'So,' asked Pyrrhus, 'now thou deemst the sacrifice of maids a crime?' [538] 'No law spares the captive or stays the penalty.' [539] Agamemnon answered, 'What law forbids not, shame forbids be done.' [540] But Pyrrhus claimed, ''Tis the victor's right to do.' [541] And Agamemnon answered, 'Least should he will who has much right.' [542] 'My sword knows how to spare

e'en captives. Rather, let Calchas, the interpreter of the gods, be called. If the fates demand, I will give her up.' [543] Hence, seeing that Pyrrhus was not giving up, Agamemnon referred the issue precisely to Calchas. Calchas said, 'A maiden must be sacrificed on the Thessalian chieftain's tomb; but in the barb in which Thessalian brides are wed, or Ionian, or Mycenaean, let Pyrrhus lead his father's bride to him. 'Tis so she shall be given duly. But it is not this cause alone, which delays our ships; blood nobler than thy blood, Polyxena, is due.' [544]

So, Polyxena was asked to wear the wedding dress, and everyone thought she was to wed Pyrrhus. **Happy Helen told Polyxena, 'Such a match neither Troy herself […], nor Priam, could make for thee.** *For the greatest ornament of the Pelasgian race, whose realm stretches wide over the plains of Thessaly, seeks thee in holy bonds of lawful wedlock* .' [545] Though she was not to be wed, but sacrificed. Pyrrhus torn her from Hecuba's arms. [546] Then, to crown all her griefs, yet sharper pain fell on the heart of hapless Hecuba; so wailed and shrieked for her child Hecuba, 'O child, dear child, that I might die with thee, that earth might swallow me, ere I see thy doom.' [547] 'But late a happy throng of children girt me round, and I grew weary of sharing a mother's love among so many kisses and so large a flock; but now this daughter alone is left, object of my prayer, my companion, comfort in affliction, my resting-place. She is Hecuba's entire offspring, hers is the only voice that now calls me mother. O obstinate, unhappy soul, come, slip away, and spare me the sight of this death at least.' [548]

Now, she was torn from her mother's arms, and the girl, almost Hecuba's only comfort, ill-fate, but with more than a woman's courage, was led to the burial mound, and became a victim of the dread grave. When she saw Neoptolemus standing, gripping his sword, his eyes gazing at her face, she said, 'Do not delay my generous gift of blood […], thrust the ready steel into my throat or breast,' and then she laid both throat and bosom bare. 'Polyxena would never wish to live in slavery. And such rites win no favour from a god. Only I

fondly wish my mother might not know that I have died. My love of her takes from my joy in death and gives me fear […] But, if my words – my parting wish, has power to touch your hearts […], freely return my body to my mother, let her not pay with gold for the said right to bury me – but only with her tears!' After she said these words, the people could no more restrain their tears. [549] Soon as the young man reached the summit of the steep mound, and stood upon the high-raised top of his father's tomb, the dauntless maid did not shrink back, but, facing the stroke, stood there with stern look and courageous. A spirit so bold strikes the hearts of all. Pyrrhus is slow to kill. When his hand, thrust forth, had buried deep the sword, with the death-stroke her blood leaped out in a sudden stream through the gaping wound. The throng of both peoples wept; but the Phrygians mourned her with timid lamentation, while the victors wailed aloud. Thus was the rite performed. The shed blood stayed not, nor flowed off on the surface of the ground; instantly, the savage mound sucked it down. [550] The maiden's corpse then gave they to Antenor to bury. The old man buried her, King Priam's princess-child, nigh his own house. [551]

Embracing the body of Polyxena, now empty of that brave spirit, Hecuba poured tears over her daughter's wound, and covered her lips with kisses. Tearing at her white hair caked with blood, and plucking at her breast, she said, 'My daughter, what further sorrow can be mine? My daughter you lie dead, I see your wounds – they are indeed my own. […] I thought, because you were a woman, you were safe from swords. But you, a woman, felt the deadly steel. That same Achilles, who has given to death so many of your brothers, caused you death, the bane of Troy and the serpent by my nest! When Paris and when Phoebus with their shafts had laid him low, "Ah, now at least," I said, "Achilles will no longer cause me dread." Yet even then he still was to be feared. […] I am exiled now, and destitute, and forced from the sad tombs of those I love, to wretched slavery, serving Penelope: who showing me to the curious dames of Ithaca, will point and say, while I am bending to my task, "Look at that woman who was widely

known, the mother of great Hector, once the wife of Priam!”.’ [552]

‘After the departure of Ulysses, Hecuba, preferring death to enslavement, called down many curses and evil omens upon us,’ Dictys wrote, ‘and we, being terribly provoked, stoned her to death. Her tomb, which was raised at Abydos, was called Cynossema (The Tomb of the Bitch).’ [553] While Ovid wrote, ‘The last to embark – pitiable sight! – was Hecuba, found among the tombs of her sons. There as she clung to their graves, trying to kiss their relics, the hands of Dulichian Ulysses dragged her away. Yet she emptied one sepulchre, and carried away with her, at her breast, Hector’s ashes from the emptied urn. And on Hector’s grave she left a scant offering to the dead, shreds of her grey hair, hair and tears.’ [554] Hence, there are two accounts of what happened with her: according to one, she died before she left, and according to the other, Ulysses took her with him. However, the first variant is more credible, for other authors also make reference to her tomb.

According to Dares, the war against Troy lasted for ten years, six months, and twelve days. [555] The number of the Achaeans who fell, according to the Journal that Dares wrote, was 866,000; the number of the Trojans 676,000. [556] The plunderer hurried away the Dardan spoils, booty which a thousand ships cannot contain, [557] and left. Strabo would call this victory of the Achaeans a ‘Cadmean victory.’ [558]

10.7. Survivors’ fates

Aeneas Dardanidi

After the War of Troy, Aeneas Dardanidi headed westbound. A description of his voyage is given by Virgil in the *Aeneid* . Aeneas sat sail with the twenty-two ships that Alexander used to go to Greece. He had about 3,400 followers, people of all

different ages. [559] His descendants helped establish the Roman Empire, but not only that, for one of his grandsons, Brutus, immigrated to Albion, or present-time Britain, and there he founded London or New Troy. This history is provided in two of the most important books written in the Middle Ages by the Britons about their country, and respectively, in the book by Nennius, *Historia Britonum* , author of the 8 th century, and in *Historia Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth .

Antenor, the founder of the Veneti and Franks

Dictys wrote, 'When it was known at Troy that Antenor had gained control of the kingdom, all the survivors of the war, who had escaped the slaughter of that fearful night, supported his rule. […] Everyone loved him, and trusted his wisdom.' [560] According to Dares, who was one of his followers, Antenor had about 2,500. [561] Whereas according to Virgil, Antenor was able to escape the enemies of Achaia, and pierce secure the Illyrian bays, and cross the most far-flung Liburnians' areas, and the Timavus water sources. He founded the city of Padua, and gave his Teucrians a retreat. [562] And according to the other Latin author Livy, ' *Antenor is said to have come to the uppermost gulf of the Adriatic Sea, together with a group of Eneti, who had been driven from Paphlagonia by revolution. They had lost their king, Pylamenes, at Troy, and were seeking a home and a leader. Driving out the Euganei, who lived between the sea and the Alps, the Trojans and Eneti took possession of this territory. The place they first landed is named Troy, and so the district is called Trojan. The entire people are known as Veneti.'* [563] A number of Mediaeval chronicles provide the Franks as descendants of Antenor. *The name* **Teuton** *was oftentimes used to refer to Germanic tribes, and according to a Frank chronicler, they were of Trojan origin.* [564]

After the war, Agamemnon sailed out to Mycenae together with Cassandra. She told his doom, and sought in vain to convince the elders of their master's peril. [565] Agamemnon was murdered by Aegisthus and Clytemnestra; for she gave him a shirt without sleeves and without a neck, and while he

was putting it on, he was cut down, and Aegisthus reigned over Mycenae. They killed Cassandra also. [566] When Orestes had grown to maturity, he begged Idomeneus, King of Crete, to give him as many men as he could, and let him sail from Crete to Athens. His request was granted, and he went off to Athens, and there invoked the aid of the Athenians against Aegisthus. Thus, Orestes, having assembled a large army, marched on Mycenae. Clytemnestra was immediately slain, along with many others, who dared to resist. Aegisthus was absent. But when news of his arrival was brought, he was ambushed and killed. [567] Orestes, it was decided unanimously, should go to Athens, and there stand trial before the court of Areopagus. Thus, Orestes plead his case, and the Areopagus acquitted him; this court was reputedly the most severe in all Greece. [568] He is variously said to have been brought to trial by the Furies, or by Tyndareus, or by Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra; and with the votes at his trial being equal, he was acquitted. [569]

Later Orestes, and then, Menelaus, came to Crete at the invitation of Idomeneus. Orestes bitterly charged his uncle with plotting against him at a time when his position was already endangered by public strife. Finally, however, they were reconciled with each other by the intercession of Idomeneus, and so departed to Lacedaemon. And then, Menelaus, just as he had agreed to do, promised Hermione in marriage to Orestes. [570] Having himself married Hermione, or, according to some, Erigone, he begat Tisamenus, and was killed by the bite of a snake at Oresteum in Arcadia. [571]

During the same time, Menelaus landed on Crete, and learned how Agamemnon had died, and what was happening in Argos. [572] Menelaus, with five ships in all under his command, was driven by winds to Crete, Libya, Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, wherefrom he collected much treasure. After eight years, he came to port at Mycenae. [573] Later, he came to Sparta, where he regained his own kingdom.

According to Apollodorus, Helenus founded a city in Molossia, and inhabited it, and Neoptolemus gave him his

mother Deidamia to wife. When Peleus was expelled from Phthia by the sons of Acastus, and died, Neoptolemus succeeded to his father's kingdom. [574] All the citizens and all the people round about, who were under his power, welcomed him joyously and with a devotion. [575] Apollodorus wrote, ' *Neoptolemus* set out for the country of the Molossians by land with Helenus, and on the way, Phoenix died, and Neoptolemus buried him; and having vanquished the Molossians in battle, he reigned as king, and begat Molossus on Andromache. [576] Dares wrote that Andromache and Helenus had about 1,200 followers. [577] And when Orestes went mad, Neoptolemus carried off his wife Hermione, who had previously been betrothed to him in Troy. [578] But Neoptolemus, having consummated his marriage to Hermione, went to Delphi. Hermione, after the departure of her husband, was tortured by the thought of her captive rival, and summoned her father, Menelaus. Then, bitterly complaining about her poor treatment – how Neoptolemus preferred a captive woman to her – she urged Menelaus to kill Hector's son (the second son – author's note). Andromache, having learned of this plot, saved her son, and escaped with the aid of the people, who pitied her fate. [579] By the death of Neoptolemus a portion of the realm passed as his due to Helenus, who called the plains Chaonian from Chaon of Troy. In the *Aeneid* , Virgil wrote that Aeneas went to Buthrotum, and met Helenus and Andromache, who were wed, and reigned in Buthrotum, where they had built a little Troy. [580] Prince Helenus, Priam's son, and Hector's second son were all that was left from the royal family of Troy. Hence, the only survivors from the renowned dynasty of Troy settled finally at Buthrotum. The Epirote Dynasty was founded there by Molossus, Andromache's son by Achilles' son, Pyrrhus.

Homer wrote that not only was Odysseus lost in Troy on the day of his return, but also many others disappeared. Ulysses, as some say, wandered about Libya, or, as some say, about Sicily, or, as others say, about the ocean, or about the Tyrrhenian Sea. [581] There Calypso, daughter of Atlas, received him, and bedding with him bore a son Latinus. He

stayed with her five years, and then, made a raft and sailed away. But on the high sea, the raft was broken in pieces by the wrath of Poseidon, and Ulysses was washed up naked on the shore of the Phaeacians. [582] There they already knew of his fame, and entertained him many days. Also, they told him that Penelope was being wooed by thirty handsome suitors, who had come from different regions. When he had come to Ithaca, Ulysses stayed concealed for a little while, until they could inform Telemachus of what they were planning. Then, they proceeded to the palace, and slew the suitors. As for Penelope, her reputation for virtue was famous. [583] Meanwhile he had a son, Telegonus, that Circe from the Island of Aeaea had borne to him. Telegonus came to Ithaca in search of his father. Then, he entered a fray, killed Ulysses, not knowing that he was his father. And then, Telegonus realised that this was his father, whom he had slain. He wept in a very pitiable way, and pulled his hair with both his hands, because he had caused his father's death. Then, as Ulysses had asked, he told him his name, and the name of his mother, and the name of the island where he was born. And so, Ulysses knew that his recurring dream had been correctly interpreted; he had been fatally struck by one, whom he had never suspected. And thus, within three days, he died. [584] Telegonus married Penelope. [585] Some others provide another fate for her.

Diomedes learned that his grandfather, Oeneus, was being afflicted in every way by those, who had gained control of Aetolia during his absence. Accordingly, he went to that region, and killed the guilty usurpers. Those, who favoured his cause, easily welcomed him back, for all Aetolia feared him. [586] When after the War of Troy *Idomeneus* landed in Crete, Leucus drove him out. [587] 'When news of Diomedes' success spread,' Dictys wrote, 'all of the Greeks [Achaeans] reinstated their kings, thinking that no one could match bravery or strength of those, who had battled at Troy.' [588] 'And so we Cretans and our king Idomeneus,' Dictys wrote, 'returned to our native soil, and were joyfully received by our people.' [589]

Guneus, the king of Perrhaebians, went to Libya. [590] Guneus left his own ships, and having come to the Cinyps River in Libya, he dwelt there. [591] Antiphus, the son of Thesalus, went to the Pelasgians, and having taken possession of the country, he called it Thessaly. Philoctetes went to the Campanians in Italy. [592] Later on, Philoctetes was driven from Campania in Italy, and after making war on the Lucians, he settled in Crimissa, near Croton and Thurium; and, his wanderings over, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo, to whom also he dedicated his bow, as Euphorion says. [593] Phidippus with the Coans was driven to Andros. [594] Agapenor to Cyprus, and others elsewhere. [595] But Meges and Prothous, with many others, were cast away at Caphereus in Euboea, and when Prothous was shipwrecked at Caphereus, the Magnesians with him drifted to Crete, and settled there. [596] After the sack of Ilium, Menestheus, Phidippus, and Antiphus, and the people of Elephenor, and Philoctetes sailed together as far as Mimas. Then, Menestheus went to Melos, and reigned as king, because the king there, Polyanax, had died. Phidippus with the Coans was driven first to Andros, and then, to Cyprus, where he settled. *Elephenor of the Abantes died in Troy, but his people were cast away in the Ionian gulf, and inhabited Apollonia in Epirus.* [597] (This people is otherwise known as the Amants.) The people of Tlepolemus touched at Crete; then, they were driven out of their course by winds, and settled in the Iberian islands. [598] *The people of Protesilaus were cast away on Pellene near the plain of Canastrum* . [599] Teucer had been prohibited from landing on Salamis by Telamon, his father, because, no doubt, he had not prevented his brother Ajax' ignominious death. [600] He went to Cyprus, where he founded a city called Salamis.

Conclusions

The Trojan and Achaean populations derived from the same ethnic origin. Hence, the Trojans were called Phrygians, as were Phrygian the kings of the Achaean dynasty, or Atrides,

descendants of Pelops the Phrygian, with both sides being aware of their shared origin, for they would underscore this. The Phrygians descended from a tribe called Brigas, or the Encheleian Brigas, who, according to ancient authors, inhabited the Central Part of current political borders of Albania, wherefrom they emigrated to Troy. The Trojan dynasty was called Dardanian, with Dardanian being the name borne by an Illyrian tribe, or by the Albanians presently inhabiting Kosovo (Dardania). The Achaean population was from the Pelasgian stock, and their kings were Illyrians. Hence, the conclusion could be reached that a population from the same Pelasgian-Illyrian stock fought in Troy. And among the Trojans' allies there were foreign armies, as well, which were not whatsoever related by blood or origin either to the Trojans or the Achaeans, but were hired mercenaries.

The ethical-juridical tradition of the Homeric Age bears a resemblance to the canonical tradition noted among the Albanians today, for the Albanians are descendants of these ancient populations, with this being confirmed by Byzantine and Mediaeval sources, in which use is made of the following names: Illyrians, Macedonians, Epirotes, Mysians, and others, to refer to the Albanians. The Homeric institutes of law, including honour, hospitality, pledge, blood feud, and so on, are to this day applicable among the Albanians. Scientifically speaking, use of the term *Greek* , in referring to the *Achaeans* , by Latin historians, or others after them at a later period of time, is not correct, given that such designation emerges hundreds of years following the War of Troy, and is only related to a subjective designation employed by the Latins, for the people had never called themselves by that name. Hence, in this study the term *Greek* is only used for the sake of consistency with the proper citation, for this is how it was used in translations by the Latins, and especially, the modern authors, who removed the terms *Achaean* , *Danaan* , and *Pelasgian* , and replaced them with the term *Greek* , and this is a manipulation of history.

The cause of the War of Troy was not Helen's abduction, but the killing by the Argonauts, led by Hercules, of the King of Troy Laomedon and his children, except for Priam, who happened to be in Phrygia, and his sister Hesione, as well as the devastation and plundering of the riches of Troy, and the taking of Princess Hesione captive. The abduction of a princess would of course set forth the grounds for a war. However, in this case, not the cause but the effect was instead used as an excuse, given that the Achaeans' intention was to decide who would rule the world of that time, and plunder rich Troy. The Trojans' refusal to give up Helen relates to the tradition of hospitality and pledge, being a known tradition among the Albanians to this very day. No harm is done to a guest under protection, if they are afforded shelter. Before the Trojan Council, with the Achaeans and Menelaus also attending, Helen refused to return, and this relieved the Trojans from the responsibility.

By its size at the time, the War of Troy had the dimensions of a world war. It spread to a part of Southern Europe, Asia Minor, and parts of North Africa. The war involved the Achaean camp, with the purpose being to set the Achaeans' ships aflame and expulse them, where the vast majority of the fighters were also killed. In this war, among those who met their death are the main kings, including Priam of Troy, King Rhesus of Thrace, King Sarpedon of Lycia, King Eurypylus of Mysia, King Memnon the African, Queen Penthesileia of the Amazons, the heir princes of Troy from the Dardanian dynasty, including Hector, Paris, Deiphobus, and Troilus, as well as Princess Polyxena, and many from among the sons Priam had by the concubines. Likewise, many Achaean princes and kings were done to death, including the strongest amongst them, Achilles from Pelasgian Phthia. According to Dares of Phrygia, the soldiers slain both ways amounted to 1.5 million. What was cruel about the Achaeans' revenge against the Trojans was that massacres were perpetrated against the civilian Trojan population at the hands of the Achaeans, who plundered the wealth of Troy, and burnt it to the ground.

The fall of Troy is rather due to internal treachery and guile among the Achaeans than to the war, for, even though the conflict lasted for 30 years, between the Laomedon's murder and the conclusion of the peace agreement, the Achaeans were not able to take Troy by war. According to Thucydides, 'If they [Achaeans] had brought plenty of supplies with them, and had persevered in the war, without scattering for piracy and agriculture, they would have easily defeated the Trojans in the field.' [601]

The only families rescued from Troy were those of Aeneas and Antenor Dardanidi, which immigrated to the West, along with thousands of their followers. They betrayed their city to save their families. Helen Dardanidi and Andromache were among those, who were rescued, for Helenus cooperated with the Achaeans, whereas Andromache was taken captive by Pyrrhus Neoptolemus as a prize of war, and later fell in love with him. She brought forth a son to Pyrrhus, their son Molossus, who was given this name in honour of the Molossian tribe, over which they reigned.

One of the biggest wars in history, the War of Troy still deserves to be studied. The period before, during, and after this war set the stage for many ancient phenomena, and its study helps understand them.

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